
T H E

HISTORY of the TURKISH,
OR
OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

V O L. IV.

KING'S
COLLEGE

THE
HISTORY of the TURKISH,
OR
OTTOMAN EMPIRE,
FROM ITS FOUNDATION IN 1300,
TO THE PEACE OF *BELGRADE* IN 1740.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED
AN HISTORICAL DISCOURSE
ON
MAHOMET AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

TRANSLATED from the FRENCH of MIGNOT,

BY A. HAWKINS, Esq.

QUIDQUID DELIRANT REGES, PLECTUNTUR ACHIVI.

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M D C C L X X X V I I .



THE
HISTORY
OF THE

Turkish, or Ottoman Empire,

From its Foundation in 1300, to the Peace of
BELGRADE in 1740.

A C H M E T II.

TWENTY-FIRST REIGN.

THE first action of Achmet II. after having girded on the sword of Othman and received the oaths of the great officers of the empire, was to go and visit Mahomet IV. in his prison. The new emperor found this feeble prince greatly terrified. The wishes of some of his old servants, who had been desirous of putting Mustapha his eldest son on the throne, had reached his ears: Mahomet knew likewise that they had talked of restoring him the empire; and as on a similar occasion he had attempted to put his brothers to death, by a return on himself he expected death

J.C. 1691.
Heg. 1102,
& 1103.

Visit of
Achmet II.
to his bro-
ther Ma-
homet.

J.C. 1691.
Heg. 1102,
& 1103. for him and his children. Achmet, as incapable of governing as his two predecessors, was more humane. His visit had no other object than to remove the fears of his brother. He addressed him with an air of cheerfulness, saying: "I have been forty years dependant on you, brother, it is my turn now; but yours will return again one day perhaps: so I would wish to be on good terms with you." After an hour's familiar conversation, "Cheer up, brother," said the emperor to Mahomet as he left him; "you let me live when you were my master, and I will do the same by you;" and he sent him, to alleviate his solitude, several women who were past child-bearing, which arrives much sooner in Turkey than in other climates.

The court
removes to
Adriano-
ple.

Raising of
troops.

Whether the grand vizier was afraid to expose the new emperor too much to the view of his subjects, or that he thought it necessary to have the court nearer the theatre of war, he persuaded the grand seignior to remove to Adrianople, where recruits flocked in great numbers from all the provinces of the Ottoman empire to enlist under the colours of this vizier, whom the conquest of Belgrade caused to be looked on as the defender of his country. Kiuperli, whom this eagerness could not but flatter, would not however have more troops raised than he had intended for the following campaign. The order lately established in the finances would not admit of greater expences. He forbade the bashaws and commanders

commanders of different corps to increase the J.C. 1691.
 number of their soldiers. "So many true Be- Heg. 1102,
 lievers, said he, "are unnecessary to beat & 1103.
 "Giaurs already frightened." Whilst Kiuperli
 was employed for the public welfare, envy was
 endeavouring to ruin him. The œconomy which
 was extended to every part of the administration
 hurt the officers of the seraglio greatly, especially
 Omar, the kislar agasi or chief of the black eu-
 nuchs. We have seen in the course of this
 history that the kislar agasi, who has the com-
 mand of the haram after the emperor, always
 finds opportunities to enrich himself, both by the
 interest which all the women, even the sultanesses,
 have to keep in with him, and the administration
 of the royal mosques, the immense revenues of
 which are all in his hands. The grand vizier
 had had the boldness to demand of him an ac-
 count of these sums, conformably to the law of
 Mahomet, which orders, that the incomes of the
 mosques shall be reserved to carry on wars against
 the Infidels, after however the maintenance of
 the imans shall have been first subtracted. Kiu-
 perli having maintained this precept with more
 rigour than the kislar agasi and his kiaia, who
 have the care of these treasures, could have
 wished, it was no way difficult to stir up the eu-
 nuchs and women against the grand vizier; and
 with these the emperor lived in greater familiarity
 than with his generals or his ministers. Kiuperli
 was painted to this feeble prince as a rebel and

Conspira-
cy against
Kiuperli :
how pre-
vented.

J.C. 1691.
Heg. 1102.
& 1103.

an usurper, who, not satisfied with governing the empire, had the presumption to give law to his sovereign in his seraglio and even in his haram, as he disposed at his pleasure of treasures which were said to be reserved for his highness's expences only. They added, that it was the intention of the grand vizier to depose Achmet in order to put one of his nephews on the throne. The sultan, persuaded that his grand vizier was culpable, was afraid notwithstanding to demand of him an account of his administration. The minister's enemies were as much against this way of proceeding as Achmet, lest Kiuperli, sustained by the soldiers, the people, and even the divan, should justify himself and disconcert their scheme. The women, who acted by the instigation of the kislar agasi, got the simple Achmet to consent that the grand vizier, drawn to the door of the haram, under pretence of speaking with the sultaneſs, should be strangled by the black eunuchs charged with accompanying him. This minister, whom all the good Muſulmen looked on as their firmest hope, and whom the emperor's enemies feared with so much reaſon, was about to perish by the plots and hands of the most contemptible wretches in the universe, if one of those mutes, who are kept in the seraglio to serve as buffoons, as if human nature were not already ſufficiently abased in them, having diſcovered this conspiracy, had not run to warn Kiuperli of it. These unfortunate beings, to whom

whom nature has refused at the same time J.C. 1691.
both the organs of speech and of hearing, and ^{Heg. 1102,}
whom people take pleasure in rendering deformed
by an extravagance worthy of those who can
amuse themselves so, are generally endowed with
an understanding and address that supply the
place of their defects, either for hearing or mak-
ing themselves understood. They comprehend
what is said, sometimes by the sole motion of the
lips; a gesture, a glance of the eye is sufficient
to instruct them. They have among them a
particular language, performed by the moving of
the fingers, which almost every body understands
and speaks like them both in the seraglio and in
the haram, on account of the absolute silence
people are made observe there under severe pu-
nishments. A mute then having learned the
secret from the kislar agasi, when he was con-
ferring with his kiaia in the emperor's chamber,
knowing too that the prince had given his con-
sent to this fatal plot, ran to inform the grand vi-
zier of it, less with intention to save the minister's
life, than to be revenged of the kislar, who had
had him cruelly chastised a few days before for
a trifling fault. The mute had but just made
Kiuperli sensible of the danger to which he was
exposed, when the chief of the baltagis came to
command him in the name of the emperor to
repair to the seraglio. The grand vizier, who
did not pride himself on an implicit obedience,
ordered the baltagi pachi to return to the palace,
affuring

J.C. 1691.
Heg. 1102,
& 1103. assuring him that he was coming immediately; but, instead of executing his promise, he sent for all the principal officers of the different corps, and communicated to them what the mute had just told him. As he entered into an apology for his conduct, a general clamour was raised: "Perish all feeble and unjust emperors," said the officers, "and preserve at our head the sage, the valiant Kiuperli, who alone has saved the empire." They resolved to arm themselves immediately and assemble the troops: if Kiuperli had said a word, the supposed conspiracy would have really come to pass, and would have had full success; but the sage minister would not bring about an useless revolution; he only wished to remove and punish the evil counsellors of a prince, in whose name he had always expected to reign. Meanwhile the troops, who had taken up arms, surrounded the seraglio, and the grand vizier repaired thither attended by several bashaws and agas of the army. He sent to the grand seignior, who was shut up in his haram, that there would be no safety for him 'till he should have delivered up the kislar agasi and his kiaia. The demi-man, who had learned betimes that his plot was discovered, had wisely taken to flight, provided with some valuable effects, and was seen no more. The terror of all the grand vizier's enemies could not be compared to that of the grand seignior, who thought himself happy that his prime minister would forgive him. The kiaia

kiaia of the kislar agasi, and some other accom- J.C. 1691.
plices, were hanged up instantly in sight of the Heg. 1102,
troops, and the grand vizier prepared to set out & 1103.
for Hungary with intention to merit more and
more the favor of the people and the love of
the soldiers.

Kiuperli was at the head of a hundred thousand chosen troops. The success of the last campaign had so elated the courage of the officers and soldiers, that the Ottomans, who for twenty years had been constantly beaten under incapable generals, believed themselves invincible under Kiuperli. On the grand vizier's arrival at Belgrade, he learned that the prince of Baden was in the vicinity of Peterwaradin with an army almost as numerous as his. A council of war was called, when it was resolved to march against the Austrians in order to make them retreat to Buda, in case they should refuse to come to action. Two bridges being thrown over the Save, the army passed to the other side. The prince of Baden, on the news of this motion of the Turks, intrenched himself in a place called Salanakem, where he waited for the enemy; Kiuperli soon appeared. Whilst he was observing the position of the Austrians, a body of five thousand Germans, that wanted to join the prince of Baden, coming out of a forest, met the Ottoman army between the Austrian camp and him. This troop, vigorously charged, was soon put in such disorder, that not a single combatant escaped death

J.C. 1691.
Heg. 1102,
& 1103. death or slavery. This slaughter was over before
Battle of Salana-kem; where Kiuperli is killed. the prince of Baden had had time to range his army in battle. The janissaries, full of hope and courage, considered this first success as a certain presage of a more important victory ; but the action was scarcely begun, when Kiuperli, whose activity carried him wherever he thought his presence necessary, was struck by a ball in the temple, which killed him on the spot. These news being soon spread in the ranks, so terrified and discouraged the Ottomans, that they presently gave way every where, and those, who had expected a victory, were the witnesses or victims of a most fatal defeat ; twenty-eight thousand Turks, killed or wounded, remained on the field of battle, as likewise three thousand Germans, without counting the five thousand that had been entirely destroyed before the general action came on.

The Ottomans did not join again 'till they had reached Belgrade, where the prince of Baden did not think it right to pursue them. He chose rather to take Lippa, which the Turks had conquered the preceding campaign. The oldest of the bashaws, called Ali, who commanded the Turks since the death of the vizier, would by no means undertake any thing with troops so lately beaten and quite discouraged. He waited for the autumn in a camp well intrenched, and sent word to Adrianople, that the loss of Kiuperli had

had drawn along with it the loss of a campaign which had promised to be very glorious. Nothing considerable was done this year, either on the side of the Poles or the Venetians. All these people were waiting for the general peace, that the English and Dutch ambassadors were negotiating, but which the French ambassador traversed efficaciously, by always persuading the ministry, that the diversion, which the king his master intended to make in their favor, would enable them to obtain a glorious peace. The ambassador likewise made use of a second mean, which Lewis XIV. was not sparing of: that was to scatter a great deal of gold in the divan.

J.C. 1691.
Heg. 1102,
& 1103.

The caimakan of Constantinople, called Arabaji bashaw, was raised to the dignity of grand vizier. This minister had neither the talents nor the elevated mind of his predecessor. His extreme avarice gave the example of depredation to those who had some part in the government; and Mr. Dechateauneuf took advantage of the avidity of the members of the divan, to buy at a dear rate suffrages against a peace. The Greek, Mauro Cordato, one of the ambassadors at Vienna, was charged more particularly than his colleague to examine and give an account of every circumstance. Mauro Cordato, bribed with French gold, wrote to the grand vizier, that the victory of Salanakem had thrown the court of Vienna into more consternation than the loss of a battle could have done at any other time; that Ger-

J.C. 1692.
Heg. 1103,
& 1104.

Arabaji
bashaw is
made
grand vi-
zier.

J.C. 1692.
Heg. 1103,
& 1104. many was so drained of men and money, that the eight thousand Austrians killed at Salanakem would be much more difficult to replace, than the twenty-eight thousand Turks left on the same field of battle, and that it was impossible for the empire of Germany to carry on the war two years longer. These considerations determined the grand vizier to continue it; but from the manner in which he prepared for it, one would have thought that he was himself paid by the house of Austria. He began with putting to death, on the slightest pretences, several persons who might give him umbrage. This cruelty produced an effect quite contrary to his wishes. The friends of the bashaw of Silistria, of the bostangi pachi, and of the selytar, all strangled, leagued themselves together against a sanguinary tyrant who knew only to destroy. A palpable fault, which his avidity made him commit, soon furnished means for ruining him in his turn. He contrived to give a copper money seven times its intrinsic value, thinking to enrich the state by a proceeding that would have the appearance of increasing the public funds; but this incapable minister was ignorant that the misuse of authority can never establish confidence. The foreigners, who carry on all the commerce of the East, refused to take these pieces at their nominal value; in a little time the custom-house officers and tax-gatherers refused them likewise, though government paid the troops and the people who brought

brought provisions to the seraglio with this false money. An insurrection was the consequence; and the injustice which occasioned it too heinous for the author of these absurdities not to become the victim of them. He was deposed, and stripped of the great property which a tyrannical administration in several bashawcies had enabled him to heap up. Turposchi, bashaw of Diarbekar, received orders to come and take the seals of the empire. The capigli pachi had but just delivered him the catcheris of the grand seignior in the palace of his residence, when an officer of the old grand vizier's, who had been dispatched before the deposition of the latter, arrived at Diarbekar with several delis, to strangle him. The new grand vizier had the moderation not to avenge the injury intended him. He brought back his executioners to Constantinople, without shewing any resentment to them, or to him who had sent them. On his arrival, he resolved to turn his thoughts seriously to a peace. Mr. Decolliere, the Dutch ambassador, and sir Paget, the English ambassador, pressed it equally. Both had been consuls of their nation, and both had over the French ambassador the advantage of understanding and speaking Turkish, consequently the facility of treating themselves with the minister, without having recourse to drugermen, subaltern officers, always more ignorant than the ambassadors of the intentions of their court, and of political resources. Mr. Decha-

J.C. 1692.
Heg. 1103,
& 1104.

The new
grand vi-
zier, greedy
and inca-
pable, is
deposed.

Turposchi
bashaw is
made grand
vizier.

J.C. 1692. teauneuf opposed these dangerous antagonists with
Heg. 1103,
& 1104. the gold of Lewis XIV. Luckily for his designs, the Turkish ambassadors who had been retained four years at the court of Vienna, were returned from thence, on account of the hope which they had given Leopold of serving him at Adrianople, where the court still resided. Mauro Cordato, either through zeal for the nation which, by making him ambassador, had honored him more than any Greek had ever yet been since the foundation of the empire, or gratitude to the king of France, confirmed what he had written from Vienna. Turposchi bashaw, persuaded that the Germans would at last be constrained to solicit a disadvantageous peace, made preparations for the following campaign. As he was sensible of his want of talents to command an army, he intrusted the fortune of the empire to the serafkier Bujulki, recommending him to keep on the defensive, to avoid coming to action, and to succour the places which the Germans should be desirous of attacking. And indeed this general prevented the enemy from passing the Save. Perhaps he had but little merit in this defence, which was no way bloody, Leopold's troops not being at all desirous of coming to action. General Heusler took Waradin, which he had blocked up fourteen months. Nothing considerable was done any where this year ; the whole season was passed in observations between the Poles and the Turks. The Venetians being masters of the Morea,

Morea, made vain efforts to recover the isle of J.C. 1692.
 Candia; after having the trenches open fifty days Heg. 1103,
 before Canea, they were obliged to re-embark. & 1104.

The grand vizier, who only wished to gain time, was always inclined to peace; so much so, that he consulted the mufti to know if it would be contrary to justice to deliver Tekli to the emperor Leopold, who seemed to demand this sacrifice as a preliminary of the treaty. The chief of the law, who was very ambitious and jealous of the authority of the grand vizier, seized this occasion to ruin him. He vehemently opposed this treachery; painting it to the grand seignior in its true colours; and as in a short time he had assumed more power over the mind of his master than all the rest who approached him, he easily prevailed on Achmet to change his minister. The grand vizier Turposchi was deposed. It is but justice to say in his praise, that on leaving his place without any property, he asked for his subsistence a timar which was worth about ten purses. The sultan was willing to give him three, which would make all together forty purses. Turposchi constantly refused them, intreating his master not to lavish the substance of the state on those who no longer served it, when there was not sufficient for all those who were really useful.

The grand
vizier, who
wishes to
make a
peace, is
deposed.
He refuses
a consider-
able timar.

Bujulki Mustapha, who had commanded the troops in Hungary the preceding campaign, received the seals of the empire. The grand seignior and all the Mussulmen conceived the greatest hopes

J.C. 1693.
Heg. 1104,
& 1105.

 Bujulki
Mustapha
is made
grand vi-
zier.

 Birth of
two twins.

 Death of
Mahomet
IV.

 History of
the false
prophet
Mifri.

hopes for the prosperity of their arms, because a sultaness was just brought to bed of two twin princes. This event, very common in nature, happened for the first time in the Ottoman family. All the ulema were inclined to consider it as a certain presage of some great victory. The rejoicings lasted several days with a pomp and vivacity that had been seldom seen. As the rejoicings of the Turks are generally carried to excess, they insulted the English and Dutch ambassadors in the streets of Adrianople, who, they knew, had been endeavouring to make up a peace. The death of Mahomet IV. which happened in the mean time, no way interrupted their course. This prince had justly merited, during a long reign, the oblivion in which he was buried, even before his death. But it is likewise remarked, that the veneration of the Mussulmen for the race of their sovereigns is always directed wholly to the reigning prince, and that the extreme solitude to which the rest are condemned quite eradicates them from the remembrance of the people.

Whilst the new grand vizier was assembling his troops in the plains of Adrianople, and reviewing them, there arrived succours which he had not expected, but which offered themselves to him at too dear a rate. An emir effendi, called Mifri, who was mollac of the town of Bursa, a poet, enthusiast, and cheat, all at the same time, having assembled, by means of his fanatical preaching, four thou-

sand

sand proselytes, to whom he promised the glory J.C. 1693.
of this world, the infallible presage of that of
Paradise, resolved to conduct them to Adrianople,
to offer them to the grand seignior as the only
soldiers worthy, by the purity of their manners
and the warmth of their zeal, to fight the Giaurs,
the enemies of the Ottoman empire. The march
of these fanatics was as prejudicial to the places
through which they passed, as distressing for them-
selves; for their prophet not having prepared
provisions for them, and being unable to furnish
them with any pay, they were obliged to steal
food in the name of the Lord of Hosts, who had
put only sticks into their hands, with which they
knocked those on the head who durst resist them.
Sometimes they were not the strongest; and as
they were forbidden to take any thing but meat,
and even no more of that than they wanted for
the moment, they were often reduced to the
greatest misery; so much so, that, of more than
four thousand men who left Bursa, only three
thousand arrived at Adrianople, God having re-
jected the rest, as Mifri said, and caused them to
fall by the sword, or through hunger, which had
destroyed them by the way. The prophet and
his followers were received at Adrianople with
an eager curiosity; and he and his principal
disciples soon filled the pulpits of the different
mosques. The people flocked to hear the go-
vernment railed at, as likewise the morals and
doctrine of the ulema. According to these mar-

tial

J.C. 1693.
 Heg. 1104,
 & 1105.
 How re-
 pressed.

tial missionaries, the sins of the great men were the cause of the calamities of the empire. Instead of treacherous viziers and bashaws, and these janissaries blackened with crimes, it was necessary to have commanders and soldiers both righteous and brave: then the Giaurs would fall by thousands before the servants of God. The three thousand profelytes, who had already suffered so much, joined to the small number that should be found worthy of secounding them, were to avenge the Ottoman empire, and restore it its ancient splendor, provided those were punished who had drawn on it the wrath of Heaven. At length these fanatics excited the people to open rebellion. They wanted to put their prophet in the place both of the vizier and mufti. The chief of the religion and the prime minister perceived the danger of attempting to punish these enthusiasts publicly, whom the people heard with so much attention. They feared the effects of persecution, which, in general, stirs up the fire that it would extinguish. As they had emissaries who gave them an exact account of every thing that Misri advanced in his discourses, they artfully took advantage of what he said one day, that all the Mussulmen were obliged to obey their emperor, since the Ottoman blood was on the throne by divine right. A few minutes after this declaration, the bostangi pachi, with some of his men, entered the mosque where Misri was preaching, and commanded him, in the name of the emperor

rot Achmet, to come to that prince immediately J.C. 1693.
 in a pleasure house out of town, where he was Heg. 1104,
 desirous of conferring with him. The prophet & 1105.
 thought as he had been just preaching on obe-
 dience, he ought to give the example. Flattered
 with the honor which the emperor intended him,
 he began to think that his preaching had had
 some effect. But he had no sooner entered his
 highness's carriage, which was brought to the
 mosque door for him, than the officers had him
 conducted a great way out of town, assuring him,
 that he would never return to Adrianople again,
 and that if he did not endeavour to disperse his
 proselytes, he would certainly be put to death in
 secret. Mifri had not the courage necessary for
 the head of a sect, at least he contradicted himself
 at the approach of danger; for the prophet never
 presumed to appear again, though a violent
 storm, which the same day beat down several
 tents in the camp, and even several houses in the
 town, passed for a prodigy in favor of his mission.
 This supposed miracle staggered feeble minds;
 so much so, that the emperor wrote with his own
 hand that he would see Misri and confer with
 him. The prophet, who remembered the me-
 naces of the vizier and mufti, preferred an ob-
 scure, contemned life, to the glory and danger of
 apostleship.

About the same time, a dreadful fire broke out
 in Constantinople, which the superstitious might
 again take for a sign of God's wrath. A violent
 Fire at
 Constan-
 tinople.

J.C. 1693. wind carried vortices of flames into wooden
 Heg. 1104,
 & 1105. houses, which, being neither deep nor high, were set on fire in an instant. The Turks have neither sufficient order nor industry to guard against this too frequent calamity. Sir Paul Ricaut reports that in less than two days one quarter of the city was in a blaze. It is to be presumed that this historian exaggerates, as no other writer, nor the dispatches from the French ambassador, make any mention of this disaster. But, as we have already remarked, a fire at Constantinople is of much less consequence than it would be elsewhere, as the houses not being of much value, and wood being very common in European Turkey, the disaster is soon repaired.

J.C. 1693. The efforts of the English and Dutch ambassadors to make up a peace, and the usual slowness of the Turks, prevented the campaign from being opened 'till the middle of July. The grand vizier, having learned that the duke of Croi had besieged Belgrade, hastened to the succour of that important place. The Austrians not being so numerous as the enemy, repassed the Save precipitately; but their rear guard was beaten and their baggage pillaged. The war was scarcely any thing on the frontiers of Poland. In Dalmatia the Venetians invested a small place, of which the Turks obliged them to raise the siege. Bujulki Mustapha, who had saved Belgrade, returned to Adrianople, believing himself intitled to the thanks of his master and the esteem

of the nation ; he entered the town, surrounded ^{J.C. 1693.}
^{Heg. 1105.} with a military pomp greatly resembling a triumph ; but he had an enemy, waiting for him there whom he little expected, and whose blows it was difficult to parry. This was Fatima the favorite sultaneſſ, whom her quality of mother of the two twin princes rendered absolute over the heart of her husband. Fatima had never seen the grand vizier, and consequently could not have been personally offended by him ; but, to oblige the muſti and the kislar agaſi, she resolved to be his ruin. Though the chief of the law had procured Bujulki the ſeals, he had been ſoon diſſatisfied with his work, because, instead of a phantom of a vizier, as he had meant to give the nation, and under whose naīne he had expeſted to govern, he had found Bujulki an absolute, martial minister, determined to govern the ſtate and command the army himſelf. The care of the revenues of the royal mosques, intruſted to the kislar agaſi, gives that officer great intercourse with the muſti. When they have the prudence mutually to affiſt one another, their power is very great, as the sultaneſſes, always ſuperstitious and in many reſpects dependant on the kislar agaſi, naturally enter into the intrigues of these two favorites, whom they conſider almost as their maſters. The sultaneſſ Fatima, who was particularly fond of the muſti, because ſhe thought ſhe was indebted to his prayers for having brought two princes into the world at the ſame time, faithfully

J.C. 1693. related to the grand seignior what the kislar agasi
 Heg. 1105. told her from the chief of the law against his minister. Sometimes he was a traitor who wanted to put another prince upon the throne ; at other times a sanguinary man who had the subjects of the empire punished on slight suspicions ; and then again a careless fellow who neglected the affairs of the state that he might amuse himself in hunting and shooting. Indolent, weak men always listen with more attention to scandal than praise. The emperor easily believed every thing that came from the mouth of his beloved sultanness. One day they heard in the seraglio the noise of fowlers pursuing birds, which proved to be the grand vizier and some other officers ; the sultanness took care not to lose this occasion to renew her complaints.

The grand vizier is deposed during the winter.

The deposition of the vizier was resolved on and executed so suddenly, that, on his return from shooting, he found the chiau pachi in his palace, charged with demanding the seals of him. The English ambassador, who had just entered on a negotiation of peace with this minister, wrote to London, on the occasion of the fall of Bujulki : “ The ministers are changed so often in this court, that an ambassador can scarcely treat twice with the same person ; this alone would be sufficient to overturn the best established government in the world. Chance, here, makes the generals and officers of the divan ; it is very difficult to know if they will be capable or not of the employment given

“ them ;

" them; and if they should be so, they are left J.C. 1694.
 " too little time to be able to turn it to advan- Heg. 1105,
 " tage." & 1106.

Tarabolus Ali bashaw, who succeeded Bujulki, had no thoughts of peace. Those, who had gotten him the place, had made that a condition of his elevation. Mr. Dechateauneuf, the French ambassador, had not only employed the liberalities of Lewis XIV. to keep up this warlike disposition in the divan, but provisioned Constantinople by causing the corn and other necessaries to be transported in French bottoms; for the Venetians, who kept the sea, had almost entirely destroyed the commerce of the Turks. This succour quieted the people, whom the dread of a famine had stirred up; preparation was then made for taking the field; but the operations were as slow this year as the preceding one. The grand vizier sent a seraskier into Hungary. The two armies remained in observation during the whole campaign. The king and republic of Poland had dispatched a minister to Constantinople, who, notwithstanding the support of the French ambassador, was sent back without having been heard; the Poles were revenged for it by beating an army of fifty thousand men, Turks and Tartars, which was escorting provisions and ammunition to Kaminieck. The Venetians were still more fortunate; for being masters of the sea, they made a descent on the isle of Scio and took the capital without much resistance. They took likewise two towns in Dalmatia.

The French
ambassador
lends ves-
sels to pro-
vision Con-
stantinople.

The ar-
mies re-
main in
observation
during the
campaign.

It

J.C. 1694.
Heg. 1105,
& 1106.

The emir
of Mecca
pillages a
caravan,
and forces
the Turks
to pay him
the sums
that are
his due.

It was not in Europe only that the Ottomans found enemies this year. The Asiatic bashaws had to fight the emir of Mecca, the sovereign of those vagabonds who inhabit the deserts between the prophet's town and Damascus. This horde of freebooters plundered the caravans of all the pilgrims who went to Mecca. Though these Arabians were such miserable wretches, they were become very formidable, as it would have been necessary to keep a numerous army constantly on foot to protect the multitude of pilgrims drawn to Mecca by duty and devotion. The Turkish emperors would rather make a sort of bargain with these vagabonds, than endeavour to bring them under subjection, which in fact would be a difficult matter; for these plunderers, accustomed to live on a little, to inhabit caverns, and to bear the inclemency of the air, easily massacre travellers and escape the pursuit of regular troops. For eighty purses, which their emir received yearly from the treasures of the mosques, they were not only to discontinue their rapines, but likewise to be answerable for the safety of the roads. The wants of the state caused the payment of this debt to be neglected a good while, which the viziers considered, with much reason as disgraceful for such a state as the Ottoman empire. The emir of the Arabians thought himself authorised to pillage the caravans anew, which he executed with so much cruelty, that sixty thousand defenceless pilgrims were plundered,

dered, wounded, and dragged into slavery, whilst J.C. 1694.
they thought themselves travelling in safety on Heg. 1105,
the faith of treaties. The neighbouring sanguacs
assembled their troops too late; they were beaten
by piece-meal. This disorder did more injury
to the empire than a real war could. After a
great many men had been lost, government was
obliged to satisfy a creditor who took advantage
of circumstances to pay himself with his own
hands. The eighty purses were again furnished,
as the empire was not then in a state to free
itself from this mortifying debt.

This affair was scarcely terminated, when the J.C. 1695.
sultan was attacked with an inflammation of the
lungs which carried him off in a few days. This
prince, perceiving himself near his end, eagerly
asked to see Mustapha, his nephew, who was to
succeed him. Either through insensibility or
mistrust, Mustapha obstinately refused the ex-
piring emperor this satisfaction, who at length
desired that his nephew might be told that he
recommended his children to his protection. Achmet
Achmet died the 27th of January aged fifty years,
of which he had reigned four, if it may be called
reigning to give way to every impression, to let
good or evil be committed indifferently, and to
view with the same eyes great or ill success,
which the imbecility of this monarch prevented
him from taking any part in.

Death of
Achmet
II.

MUSTAPHA

J.C. 1695.
Heg. 1106.

M U S T A P H A II.

TWENTY-SECOND REIGN.

How Mustapha gets
on the throne.

A CHMET being dead, the grand vizier, Tarabolus Ali, who meant to choose an emperor, ordered the officers of the seraglio who had been present at the death of their master, to conceal this event. They renewed public prayers in the mosques for the sultan's recovery; and whilst the creatures of the vizier were publishing that there were great hopes for the emperor, the minister secretly assembled the mufti, the mollacs, the bashaws, and the agas of the different corps, proposing to them to place Ibrahim the son of Achmet on the throne, who was only three years old. "This child," said Tarabolus, "is the eldest son of our sovereign who died emperor of the Ottomans. Has he not more right to succeed his father, than Mustapha his cousin, the son of a dethroned emperor?" This pretext, which seemed to satisfy the assembly, covered the true reason which no one said, but which all equally comprehended. The mufti and the grand vizier knew Mustapha to be a prince that would reign himself. They hoped on the contrary to be absolute masters under the name of an emperor of three years old, and there was not a single member of the divan who did

not

not aim likewise at some part in this government, J.C. 1695.
Heg. 1106. or who at least flattered himself with finding his independency in it. Whilst they were deliberating, not any longer on the choice of a sovereign, but how they should proclaim the prince whom they had chosen, the seliçtar aga and the chiau pachi entered the assembly, and commanded the mufti and the grand vizier to go instantly and prostrate themselves at the feet of Mustapha II. who was waiting for them on his throne in the divan chamber. A black eunuch, who was treasurer of the haram, had informed this prince of his uncle's death. Mustapha had shewn himself to the bostangis and icoglans, who had immediately published the death of Achmet and the accession of Mustapha, the oldest prince of the Ottoman blood, and consequently the lawful inheritor agreeably to the laws of the caliphs and of the empire. Already they heard the drums and the acclamations of the janissaries, who were marching under the orders of their odas pachis to the outer court of the seraglio: the people assembled, and all blessed the new emperor aloud. Neither the mufti nor the grand vizier thought himself strong enough to resist this torrent: both having gotten up in silence, repaired to the divan chamber, where they were followed by those who composed the assembly. On their arrival at the foot of the throne, on which Mustapha already displayed all the majesty and pomp of an emperor, they kissed with respect the bottom of the

J.C. 1695.
Heg. 1106.

sultan's vest, who told them both that he would confirm them in their dignities, and that he should measure his affection for them by the fidelity of their services. He sent directly for the defterdar, commanding him to bring an account of all the money then in the public treasury. The emperor, seeing that this sum amounted to no more than fifteen purses, asked what had been done with the rest. On the defterdar's answering him that his predecessor had disposed of it:

Declaration which he makes on his accession.

"And I," said he, looking at the grand vizier with a menacing eye, "will take care to bring those to a strict account who have dissipated it. But let not the troops expect the present which the weakness of my predecessors has so often granted them on their ascending the throne. I am come to my estate, and want all the money that I can raise to defend this estate and keep the enemy from it." Mustapha declared that he would command the army in person the next campaign.

He takes his mother out of the old seraglio.

This sultan, aged at that time thirty-three years, had a manly, noble countenance, and was known to be a prince that would not be trifled with. His refusal of the present to the janissaries, which had several times occasioned seditions, did not then produce any effect. One of the first cares of Mustapha was to take his mother from the old seraglio, where she had been languishing ever since the deposition of Mahomet IV. and bring her to Adrianople to enjoy all the honors and power attached

attached to the state of valid sultaness. All the favorite courtiers of Mahomet IV. were recalled from their exile. One Elmas bashaw, who had been a favorite with that prince, was sent for from the isle of Metelin, to enjoy the confidence and favor of his son. Mustapha made him nis-changi, which answers nearly to the dignity of secretary of state in Great Britain, 'till he could be raised to a higher place. The emperor ordered the horse-tails to be hung up at the door of the seraglio as a sign of war before the return of the spring, and that the troops should encamp immediately in the plains of Adrianople.

Mustapha had not assembled his army so early without substantial reasons; he was desirous of knowing the disposition of the troops; and in order to get over the immense distance which separated him from the private soldiers, and even from the subaltern officers, who are the soul of an army, he went, after the example of some of his predecessors, disguised into the camp, discoursing familiarly with those that he met, both on military discipline and the abuses which were crept into the government. These conversations procured him a great deal of information. He heard the vizier Tarabolus Ali spoken of as a miser who had devoured the substance of the empire, not only whilst in the place that he had possessed but a short time, but in all the bashawcies which had been intrusted to him since he had left the seraglio. They confirmed to Mustapha

J.C. 1695.
Heg. 1106. what he knew already, that the musti had taken
 advantage of the influence which he had acquired over the last monarch, to keep back the revenues of the mosques, which ought to be applied to the carrying on of the war against the Giaurs ; and that the favorite sultaness of Achmet II. had immense sums in the old seraglio, which the kislar agasi had procured her for the bashawcies that she sold to those who oppressed the people. These discoveries determined the emperor to depose the musti instantly, as likewise the kislar agasi. He sent word to sultaness Fatima, that she must either

He deposes
the musti
& the kis-
lar agasi.

prepare to die, or remit to the public treasury the riches which she had plundered from the empire. Some historians assert that Mustapha received the value of eight hundred and thirty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-three pounds sterling in money and jewels from these three confiscations. He left the musti, the sultaness, and the kislar agasi, only sufficient to lead an obscure, miserable life in exile. We remark, with some surprise, that sixty female slaves belonging to this black monster were sold by auction.

The grand seignior bestowed the dignity of musti on Fezula effendi, who had been his preceptor, and he made the black eunuch, who had informed him of the death of Achmet, kislar agasi. He was indebted to him for his sceptre and perhaps his life. The emperor did not confine himself to these changes : the grand vizier, more culpable in his eyes than those who had

been

been just deposed, was said to be richer than any <sup>J.C. 1695.
Heg. 1156.</sup> of them. Mustapha, who had not forgotten that this minister had been desirous of putting the son of Achmet on the throne, sought only a pretence to be revenged and get possession of his immense fortune. As he was visiting the artillery, he remarked that the cannon were mounted on carriages too slight and badly shod. The grand vizier having thrown the fault on the toppchi pachi or great master of the ordnance, this officer reproached the minister, in the presence of the grand seignior, with never having, since his being raised to the chief place in the empire, furnished the ordnance with the money necessary for its expences, even for those that were indispensabel, and he offered to prove what he advanced by the examination of his accounts. More was not necessary for Mustapha. This prince, on his return to the seraglio, had Tarabolus Ali arrested. The chiau pachi, having demanded the seals of the empire from him, delivered him immediately to the executioners, who left him only time to purify himself by the abdest, and to say a short prayer. This confiscation also increased the public treasure.

He has the
grand vi-
zier Tara-
bolus put
to death.

Mustapha made Elmas baishaw grand vizier, to whom he had given his confidence. The youth of this new minister, hardly thirty years old, made the old bashaws murmur among themselves; but the severity of the sultan, and the pains which he seemed resolved to take, equally prescribed the same

J.C. 1695. same to the divan and the troops. Mustapha
Heg. 1106. cannot be denied the merit of having loved order

Mezzo-
morto ad-
vises an
expedition
against
Scio, & ex-
ecutes it. and sought men worthy to command. As they were deliberating in the divan on the maritime operations of the following campaign, a pirate of Tunis, called Mezzomorto, who 'till then had followed no other trade than scouring the seas, hearing that it was proposed to keep on the defensive, rose up, without being interrogated, and declared, that if they would give him the command of four vessels called sultaneffes and eight galleys, he would retake the isle of Scio from the Venetians. On the captain bashaw's making some objections, and seeming desirous to impose silence on him, this mariner entered into an explanation of his project, the success of which he founded principally on the facility of landing in the island, and on the division of the Latin and Greek Christians, which, according to him, was gotten to such a height, that it must be easy to procure intelligence in the principal town, and to obtain great succours from the Greeks, who were rich and numerous in Scio, and who would rather obey the tolerating Turks than the Venetians, who were declared enemies of their sect and destroyers of their churches. Mustapha heard this discourse from behind the curtain of the dangerous window ; he undrew it instantly, and ordered that Mezzomorto should have the vessels he desired and every thing which he should judge necessary for this expedition. The pirate did not

not deceive the confidence of his master. Having J.C. 1695.
Heg. 1106.
found the Venetian fleet in the road, he fell upon — and dispersed it with the less difficulty, as these Italians, accustomed for many years past to great advantages over the Turks, had not expected such a smart attack. After a complete victory, the Ottoman fleet arrived at the isle of Scio, and the troops landed just as if it had been on the territory of the grand seignior. The Venetians had not made any new fortification to the principal town, nor even attempted to repair the old ones. The approach of the Turks increased the animosity of the Latins and Greeks; combats were fought every day within the walls of Scio, the besieged considering much less how they should repulse the enemy than destroy one another. Mezzomorto encamped in the plain without being in haste to make his approaches, though the Greeks invited him earnestly. The Venetians, convinced of the impossibility of defending a place full of enemies, took advantage of this delay to hasten their flight; they embarked the effects that they were able to remove, without the Turks' throwing any obstacle in their way, and abandoned the island to the enemy, who as yet had only menaced them. The Turks having entered the town, put in chains all the Venetians, and even the Roman catholics that they met. Mezzomorto, in order to convince the Greeks of his protection and gratitude, caused all the Latin churches to be destroyed, and forbade

J.C. 1695. Heg. 1106. bade the exercise of the Roman religion throughout the island.

Mezzo-morte is made captain bashaw.

J.C. 1695. Heg. 1107.

On the news of this success, the grand seignior deposed the captain bashaw, and conferred his dignity on the pirate of Tunis, to whom he sent the three tails, which made him bashaw of the bench or of the arched roof. Notwithstanding these honors so well merited, Mezzomorto could never be prevailed on to quit the dress of a sailor, in which he always appeared in the divan as well as on board his vessels. He replied to those who wanted to have him clothe himself better: "If the captain bashaws, my predecessors, had never worn any other than this habit which you despise, the marine of the empire would be in a better state; and, instead of retaking what they have lost, as I have just done, I should have made new conquests." Since Mezzomorto, the captain bashaws have always worn the dress of a sailor, made, it is true, of rich stuffs and fine furs.

Campaign of Mustapha.

Mustapha had not taken the field when he learned the success of Mezzomorto. Under this favorable presage, he put himself at the head of his army, which was composed of forty-five thousand men only. As he knew that Fréderick Augustus, elector of Saxony, the German general, had not so many troops under his command, he thought it wiser to employ a few soldiers, who, inured to the hardships of war and well disciplined, would cost less money to the empire and serve

serve it better, than the innumerable crowd of J.C. 1695.
combatants assembled by his predecessors, rather
to famish the country than to conquer it, and who
made more confusion in battle than they did ser-
vice. Mustapha re-established a severe discipline
in his army, which had always been kept up
among the Turks when they had good generals,
and which is easy to be maintained in this nation,
already reduced to obedience. The sultan con-
ducted his army like a sage, humane prince, who
has learned from the law of nations, that in war,
an upright man does no more injury to human
kind than is absolutely indispensable. He left
Adrianople the tenth of June, passed the Danube
at Belgrade, took Lippa and Titul, and caused
them to be demolished. Having learned by the
Tartarian scouts that general Veterani was ad-
vancing at the head of eight thousand Transyl-
vanians, he came up with and charged them ; but
the Turks, who knew very little of military dis-
cipline, advancing in disorder against a corps
well closed and thick set with pikes, whose fire
was so directed, that each shot, fired at a small dis-
tance, carried off a man, were soon put to flight.
Mustapha, full of courage and shame, rode full
speed to rally them. He brought them back in
reality ; and a second discharge, as well directed
and as bloody as the first, put them again to
flight. The voice of the emperor with still more
difficulty once more assembled these dispersed
troops. This prince, meeting a bashaw who was

He beats a
small body
of troops.
This ac-
tion costs
him much
blood.

J.C. 1695.
Heg. 1107.

an officer in the spahis, and who was fleeing as fast as he could, said to him, alluding to his name, *Schain*, which in Turkish signifies a *Hawk*: “ Go, Hawk, thou art nothing but a foolish bird that gives the example of flight to others like thyself.” Schain, touched with this reproach, returned immediately, and contributed greatly to the rallying of the cavalry for the second time. This third attack was equally bloody with the two others: the Turks kept fleeing; and the Germans, though severely mauled, remained nevertheless unshaken. In this manner, during several hours, eight thousand Transylvanians maintained a fight against forty-five thousand Turks, without losing an inch of ground, and without executing any other manœuvre, than that of closing their ranks as their comrades were killed away. Constancy and firmness would have prevailed over number, if general Veterani, who was grievously wounded, had not been obliged to get off his horse. They carried him to a carriage, where the violence of the anguish soon deprived him of his senses. The Transylvanians meditated to retire in good order; reduced to the number of four thousand, they rejoined the army of the elector of Saxony, after having killed more than fifteen thousand of the Turks, among whom were a great number of bashaws, agas, and officers of distinction, who had ventured their life with more bravery than prudence in order to merit the attention of their sovereign. As the pursuit

pursuit of the Transylvanians was as bloody as J.C. 1695.
Heg. 1107.
 the battle had been, Mustapha secretly ordered the mufti, who had followed him to the army, to find an expedient to lessen the ardor of the cavalry. The chief of the law immediately issued a fetfa, which importeth, that the great prophet forbids to follow a fleeing enemy with too much earnestness, and whoever perishes in infringing this precept loses the crown of martyrdom. Mustapha therefore permitted the Germans to make good their retreat, and returned through Walachia to Adrianople, where he entered triumphantly.

The people exaggerated the exploits of their sovereign, which amounted only to the taking of two small places badly defended, and to a victory over a body of troops six times less in number than the Ottoman army, which advantage had likewise been purchased very dear; but the remembrance of the expedition of Scio and the news of a considerable booty which the khan of the Tartars had taken from the Poles, increased their joy, and caused this year to be considered as very fortunate, as Frederick Augustus, at the head of the main army, had not made a single conquest. The czar of Muscovy,* Peter the Great, had attempted to take Asoph; but, notwithstanding the endeavours of that prince to

The Russians attempt in vain to take Asoph.

* It is remarked that Peter the Great, who would have every officer pass through all the ranks, and who gave the example himself, served at this first siege in quality of colonel.

^{J.C. 1695.}
^{Heg. 1107.} teach his soldiers the art of war, the Muscovites
did not yet know how places are fortified, nor
how to attack fortified towns. Their repeated
efforts cost them much blood, and they were
constantly repulsed; thus, the principal success
of the Turks this year, was in the defence of their
towns.

^{J.C. 1696.}
^{Heg. 1107,}
^{& 1108.} At the court of a prince resolved to govern by
himself, there must be more intrigue, than when
a grand vizier decides despotically in the name of
an indolent, invisible master. Elmas bashaw had
the confidence of Mustapha; but he divided it
with the mufti. He had found a dangerous rival
in the latter, whose credit was supported by an
old ascendency that the preceptor had had over
his pupil, and the authority of the Alcoran, to
which the chief of the law had continual recourse.
Elmas, more political than religious, wished to
please the allies of the Porte. With this view he
had granted the French ambassador, Mr. De-
chateauneuf, liberty to rebuild a church at
Pera, and though the Alcoran expressly forbids
the permitting of new churches to be raised,
or those which the Christians should be de-
sirous of rebuilding to be enlarged, the minister,
who thought he had interest to please the greatest
enemy of the house of Austria, had shut his
eyes at the new plan of this church which took
in much more ground than the old one. This
toleration served the mufti as a pretext for raising
himself against Elmas bashaw with all the energy
of

The mufti
wrefts a
church
from the
Christians
to make a
mosque
of it.

of the most furious zeal. The latter having at-
tempted to defend his proceeding, the enraged
mufti repaired to the place where it was building,
ordering all the good Mussulmen to destroy the
resort of the Giaurs: which was done immedi-
ately with great tumult. The vizier having
complained of it to Mustapha, the chief of the
law was ordered before him, where he supported
this proceeding by several passages of the Alco-
ran, with the non-observance of which he re-
proached his adversary, and concluded with say-
ing, that he had been forced to arm the friends
of God against the opposers of his worship, and
that he should find in the zeal of good Mussul-
men the protection which he was refused by go-
vernment. His clamours overcame the prince and
his minister. The church which had been meant
to be rebuilt, instead of being so on the proposed
plan, was given up to the mufti, who, without
any pretext, had it converted into a mosque.

They learned in the beginning of the spring
that Frederick Augustus had besieged Temeswar.
This intelligence increased the grand seignior's
eagerness to take the field. He passed the Da-
nube with what troops he had, resolved to cause
the siege to be raised, or to fight the Germans.
They went and pitched their camp in an advan-
tageous place, called Olach, twenty-four miles
from the town which they had besieged. Musta-
pha came up with and defeated them, but would

not

J.C. 1696.
Heg. 1107,
& 1108.

J.C. 1696. not pursue them. Proud of this success, he contented himself with the slaughter that his troops had made, and twenty-four pieces of cannon which the Germans were constrained to abandon. Heg. 1107, & 1108. The emperor of the West was so employed against France, that it was enough for him to guard his frontiers on the side of Turkey. Prince Frederick Augustus was ordered to keep on the defensive the rest of the campaign, and Mustapha, fonder of triumphs than of victories, returned to Adrianople, where he learned that the Poles, who had lately lost their king, had been taken up the whole summer with other matters than insulting his frontiers.

Taking of Asoph by the Russians. It had not been the same on the confines of Russia. The czar, Peter the Great, more fortunate this year than the preceding one, had recommenced the siege of Asoph with the assistance of German engineers and matroffes. The town had been so hard pressed, that in two months the garrison, reduced to four hundred men from six thousand which at first composed it, was obliged to surrender to avoid being put to the sword. This considerable loss opened the commerce of the Black sea to the Russians, in case that nation should be capable of trading. The Venetians in Albania consumed themselves at the siege of Dulcigno, which they did not take. Their

Inaction of fleet, watched by that of the Turks with all the the Ven- tions. vigilance of the captain bashaw Mezzomorto, remained in the most perfect inaction. The Vene- tians

tians saw with grief their enemy become as formidable by sea as he had been a few years before.

J.C. 1696.
Heg. 1107,
& 1108.

Such was the state of the war, when Mustapha hastened to go and triumph at Adrianople. He caused the twenty-four cannon, taken in the last battle, to be drawn before him, and these to be followed by such captives as he had been able to collect, imitating, as much as he could, the triumphant pomp of ancient Rome. He supplied by the appearance of gold, by the beauty of horses, by the lustre of precious stones, in a word, by Asiatic luxury, the representation of the subjugated provinces, the innumerable crowd of captives, and all those striking images that marked the triumphs of the Romans. This pomp so flattered his pride, that he would fain go and display it again at Constantinople. Mustapha had not appeared in the capital of the empire since his accession to the throne. A ceremony had even been left out at his proclamation at Adrianople, because it could not be performed any where but at Constantinople, and which the superstitious Turks considered of great importance. We will mention the cavalcade which the new emperor makes to Jub mosque soon after his accession. There, the mufti, or in his absence the scheik of the mosque, girds on the sword on the monarch, which answers nearly to the crowning of our kings. Mustapha went through this ceremony in presence of the inhabitants of his capital, whose good opinion he wished to gain,

Triumph
of Musta-
pha at A-
drianople.

with

J.C. 1696. with great pomp and an apparent affability
 Heg. 1107,
 & 1108. which his predecessors had rarely shewn. He not
 only often walked the streets in disguise, both at
 Adrianople and Constantinople, to know by his
 own eyes what it would have been impossible for
 him to perceive from his throne, but sometimes
 admitted subjects to his audience, and did not
 disdain to speak to shipwrights or other artists,
 interrogating them on their profession, and prais-
 ing or blaming according to circumstances.

J.C. 1697.
 Heg. 1108,
 & 1109. Having learned by his own experience in two
 different battles how necessary it was to maintain
 order in the different regiments, to make them
 march and fire together, and to form of a group
 of soldiers a moving machine, obedient to the
 voice or gesture, always formidable to the ene-
 my: the emperor endeavoured, during the first
 winter which he passed at Constantinople, to
 profit by the bloody lessons which the enemy
 had given him. He had the janissaries ma-
 nœuvred in a large square, where he himself saw
 the efforts that they made to learn military disci-
 pline; but whether the officers, little formed for
 this sort of fighting, had not the art to bring
 their soldiers to it, or that they beheld with an
 evil eye this familiarity of the emperor with his
 troops, which was contrary to the custom of the
 empire, and lessened in their opinion their su-
 periority over those who were under them, nei-
 ther the janissaries nor the other corps ever learned
 these evolutions, by means of which well disci-
 plined

The empe-
 ror at-
 tempts in
 vain to
 make the
 janissaries
 learn mili-
 tary disci-
 pline.

plined troops have gained so many battles. All J.C. 1697.
this winter was passed in gathering up the remains ^{Heg. 1108,}
^{& 1109.} of the treasures of the mosques, raising recruits,
and building vessels. Mustapha was so attentive
to these matters, that he left the grand vizier and
the other ministers little more than the trouble
of giving him an account, and the fear of failing
therein.

The peace that was preparing between France
and the confederate powers, and which was con-
cluded the following summer, gave the ambas-
sadors of England and Holland an occasion of
renewing their efforts to get the Turks to accept
it likewise. They represented the German power
as more formidable than ever, as all the forces of
the empire would be turned against the East.
The reasons of the two ambassadors, far from in-
timidating Mustapha, made him redouble his
efforts to oppose the house of Austria. His public
treasury had been filled by œconomy, vigilance,
and confiscations. The rebels of Hungary were
more and more animated. The sultan, in order
to take advantage of this diversion, thought it
would be right to issue a catcherif declaring
count Tekli king of Hungary. This prince,
who was much troubled with the gout, had been
to Bursa to endeavour to get some relief from the
baths there; but the state of affairs soon forced
him to join the Turkish army. The Hungarian
malecontents had taken Tockay in the name of
their new king; they filled Hungary with their

He pre-
pares to
bring a
numerous
army into
the field.

J.C. 1697.
Heg. 1108,
& 1109.

He con-
ducts a
numerous
army
against
prince
Eugene.

manifestoes, promising their countrymen the preservation of their privileges, abundance, and liberty, in the name of their new king, and under the protection of the Turks. The commotions of the Transylvanians and the advice of count Tekli determined the grand seignior to conduct a hundred and thirty thousand men thither. He took the field early ; Tekli promised him a reinforcement of fifty thousand rebels, warlike soldiers, all ready to open their towns to him. As the grand seignior, with his numerous army drew near Temeswar, he learned that prince Eugene of Savoy, already greatly celebrated in Europe, was in the neighbourhood of Titul with fifty thousand men. The grand vizier pressed Mustapha to march against the enemy. Prince Eugene meditated to cover Segedin, Peterwaradin, and the other places situated on the Danube and the Teisse, a river which falls into the former, and he was thoroughly resolved to avoid a battle if he possibly could. Several marches and counter-marches of the two armies displayed the superiority of the Austrian general, who beat all the parties sent out to endeavour to stop up the narrow passes. At length Mustapha was on the point of laying siege to Peterwaradin, believing prince Eugene encamped under Segedin, when he perceived the Austrian army, which took possession of the plain between the Turks and the place that the latter meant to attack. Forced marches cost the Germans nothing under a general

Prince
Eugene
prevents
the Turks
from lay-
ing siege
to Peter-
waradin.

rat

ral who always knew the motions of the enemy J.C. 1697,
as well as they did themselves, and who ordered ^{Heg. 1108,}
^{& 1109.} nothing that had not its advantage. It was ne-
cessary therefore for the Turks to pass the Danube <sup>The grand
vizier is
desirous of
attacking
him.</sup> on a bridge, which they had just thrown over, to
attack the enemy, before they besieged the town :
this was the advice of the grand vizier, the par-
ticulars of which he gave in the divan with the
authority of a chief who explains his intentions
rather than asks advice ; but an old bashaw of the <sup>A bashaw
of the
bench op-
poses it,
and carries
with him
the voice
of the
sultan.</sup>
bench, called Coja Jafer, strongly opposed this
design, saying, that the experience which he had
had in the German wars had taught him, that
their superiority was infinite in plain ground.

“ Don’t you remember,” said he to the vizier,
“ that last campaign eight thousand men stood
“ against more than forty-five thousand ; that
“ their victory perhaps would have been com-
“ plete, if they had not lost their general in the
“ heat of the battle ? Are you ignorant of the
“ reputation of the present commander ? Don’t
“ you see the disposition of his camp ? If you
“ will take advantage of your superiority of
“ number, wait ’till you are attacked : then you
“ may extend yourself and surround the Aus-
“ trians in the plain which you possess, or else
“ you may destroy them by counter-marches and
“ skirmishes ; but take care how you attack them
“ in an advantageous camp. They will not come
“ to action unless they are sure of having the
“ advantage.” All the bashaws were of the

J.C. 1697.
Heg. 1108,
& 1109. same opinion as Coja Jafer. The grand vizier, irritated at this inaction, and still more, probably, at an inferior bashaw's presuming to oppose him, and gain the voice of the council, replied with rage and treated him as a coward. Coja Jafer exclaimed : " Sublime emperor, if you hear me, " undraw the curtain which covers you, and " judge for the interest of your glory between " your grand vizier and me." Mustapha was really behind the veil, which, in the pavilion of the camp, as in the divan chamber at Constantinople, always represents the dangerous window, and enables the emperor to hear every thing without being perceived. The sultan appeared, and Coja Jafer, addressing himself again to the grand vizier, said : " Brother, Heaven may have " inspired you ; if it be by revelation that you " speak, without doubt our troops will be vic- " torious ; but as there are but few miracles " happen, I have no faith in the present. If " our glorious sultan permit you to go and at- " tack the enemy, I conjure him to have me " immediately loaded with chains ; and if you " be victorious, I will consent to be put to the " most ignominious death ; but, if you are " beaten, you will have to answer to God, to " the holy prophet, and to our glorious emperor, " for your presumption and imprudence. As to " myself, I am of opinion that we should in- " trench ourselves. If the enemy advance on " us, he will lose his advantage, and we are " sufficiently

"sufficiently numerous to surround him; but let us always have intrenchments between him and us, in order to oblige him to give the first blow, and especially to make the first movement." Mustapha, all presumptuous as he was, inclined to the opinion of the old bashaw, and from this moment the grand vizier conceived a violent hatred for this man, whom he looked on as his rival.

J.C. 1697.
Heg. 1108,
& 1109.

Elmas, in order to regain the confidence of his master, advised the sultan to lay siege to Segedin, which prince Eugene had just left. Mustapha liked this project, and attempted it a few days after the consultation about giving battle. Prince Eugene, hearing at break of day the tubulcham,* did not doubt a moment that the Turks were coming to attack him. But being informed a little after, by his scouts, that they were marching, rather precipitately, towards a town called Zenta, become famous by the battle which we are going to mention, prince Eugene put himself at the head of the choice of his army, ordering the main body to follow him. Towards the end of the day, he came up with a corps of the Turks' rear guard, composed of three thousand men, which he cut to pieces. Elmas bashaw had the man who brought this intelligence strangled immediately, lest it should spread in the army:

The Turks
march
towards
Segedin.

The Aus-
trians fol-
low them
and beat
their rear
guard.

* This is a beat of the great drums of the janissaries, which, like the General in the British armies, announces a movement.

J.C. 1697. army : and as he could not conceal that a sort of
 Heg. 1108,
 & 1109. messenger had been to him, he had the temerity

to deceive the sultan, assuring him that his rear guard had entirely defeated the advanced guard of the Austrians. The grand seignior was already congratulating himself on this supposed success, when the alarm was spread all of a sudden. Some Tartarian scouts published throughout the army the misfortune worse than it was. The emperor being undeceived, instead of waiting for the victorious enemy, ordered a bridge to be immediately thrown over the Teisse, by the borders of which he was then keeping.

The grand
seignior
resolves to
pass the
Teisse with
his army.

The work was finished in four hours by means of pontons or boats of leather, which the Turks always carry with them. The emperor, who would have had his soldiers have wings, passed the bridge the first; the grand vizier being come, according to custom, to kiss his stirrup, the sultan thrust him back with a menacing air : "Take care," said he, "to bring over all the army, and even the baggage, with the greatest diligence. If we lose a single waggon, your head shall answer for it." Elmas clearly perceived that he was ruined. It was impossible for all the army to pass over before prince Eugene should overtake them. However, Mustapha being gotten on the other side hastened the passing over of the troops both by gesture and voice, and would always have the bridge covered with men. This narrow passage could contain but very few people

at

at a time. Twenty-four hours had passed in this manner, and still there was more than half the army remaining on the other side of the Teisse, when they heard the drums of the Germans, and presently all the plain was covered with their troops. The vizier immediately stopped the passage of the soldiers, and covered the bridge with baggage. The grand seignior, transported with rage, sent repeated orders to pass over the janissaries, spahis, and all the best troops, and to abandon the baggage to the enemy. The grand vizier stopped these messengers, saying, that the man, who was resolved to die, could not fear the sultan, and that he had no other thought than to sell his life dearly. He had sent for all the bashaws and viziers, who were already on the other side of the river, immediately on his perceiving at a great distance the dust occasioned by the marching of the enemy, under pretence of consulting with them. He carefully concealed Mustapha's orders, talking of nothing but fighting and gaining the victory by prodigies of valour, or meriting the crown of martyrdom. He lamented the fault which the sultan had just committed in dividing his forces, and repeated several times that they were sufficient of brave fellows to gain the victory, if they did their duty. Every one repaired to his post in silence; a rampart of waggons and fascines defended the battalions of janissaries: what remained of these troops was of great consequence to the grand vizier.

J.C. 1697.

Heg. 1108.

& 1109.

J.C. 1697. vizier. Luckily for his designs, several waggons
 Heg. 1108,
 & 1109. and beasts of burden had, through the confusion
 and disorder, fallen over the bridge, which, forming
 a sort of bank, increased the violence of the
 current, and caused the bridge to be soon broken
 down, and all communication between the two
 divisions of the Ottoman army cut off.

Battle of
Zenta.

Immediately the charge of the Austrians began : the waggons being presently broken to pieces laid open the Turks, badly ranged, who neither attended to the voice of their commanders, nor fired together, and only presented their bodies to the blows of the Germans. Those who were able to flee threw themselves into the Teisse, where most of them met death ; for the multitude which filled the bed of the river at one time, prevented those who could swim from making use of their art to gain the other side. Elmas bashaw, sure of the fate which attended him, if he escaped the carnage, threw himself into the middle of the Austrian battalions, where he fell pierced with wounds ; a soldier carried the seal of the empire to prince Eugene, which he found tied about the prime minister's neck. All the bashaws, who had been recalled from the other side of the Teisse, fell likewise. The loss of this day was estimated at twenty thousand men killed on the field of battle, and ten thousand drowned ; this was much more than the half of what engaged. It is likely the slaughter would have been much greater, if a very dark night had

not

not succeeded this bloody day. The booty was immense; the Austrians found the tent of the grand seignior still standing, as likewise those of most of the bashaws. They were full of that Asiatic luxury which the Turks never fail of displaying, and which always impedes their march by the weight that it adds to the baggage. Among this booty they found a great number of waggons loaded entirely with chains and manacles, intended for the prisoners which the Turks had expected to make in the course of this campaign. This sight transported the Austrians with indignation. They immediately loaded three thousand prisoners, that they had taken, with these ignominious irons; but prince Eugene, desirous of adding humanity to so many other incitements to glory, would not permit these unfortunate men to continue long in that situation. One single bashaw, called Mamut Ben Ogli, had the good fortune to make his horse cross the Teisse, and to escape the fate of his comrades; but he did not find Mustapha in the other army.

This prince, having changed all at once from the most violent rage to terror and despair, resolved to flee in disguise. In vain did his attendants represent to him that he had as many men with him as there had been on the other side of the Tiesse; that his troops, joined to the broken remains of the beaten army, would form a corps more considerable than that of the Austrians; that the latter, tired with so many forced marches,

The emperor flees in disguise.

J.C. 1697.
Heg. 1108,
& 1109. and with the fatigues of their victory, were not
in a situation to pursue him; and that he had
more time than was necessary to secure his troops
and put a stop to the general confusion. Mustapha would hear nothing; and as one of the
officers of his chamber, who was more anxious
than the rest for the glory of his master, persisted
in his intreaties notwithstanding his being re-
peatedly told to hold his tongue, this furious,
timid prince shot him dead with a pistol, after
which he took off the egrets, which are the
marks of royalty, and every thing by which he
could be known, and, mounting the best horse
in his stud, rode off in the dark, followed by two
servants only. Mustapha found himself at break
of day in the very place where the year before
eight thousand Germans had withstood forty-five
thousand Turks. As soon as he could discover
the roads he took that of Temeswar. The sultan
having entered this town, had much difficulty to
make himself known to the sangiac, who had
seldom seen him, but who believed him at last
on the repeated assurances which he received.
The grand seignior ordered the sangiac carefully
to conceal his arrival. Three days after, they
saw the Turkish army arrive under the ramparts
of Temeswar, full of confusion, and again con-
siderably diminished by the misery which the
soldiers had experienced since the loss of the
battle. The major part of them had been three
days and a half without meat; for all the pro-
visions

He makes
himself
known to
the sangiac
of Temes-
war, and
keeps in-
cognito
'till the
defeated
army ral-
lies at that
place.

visions were in the possession of the enemy, and the army had hardly found any resources in the country which they had come through. Mamut Ben Ogli, who commanded these troops, more resembling a crowd of forlorn wretches than an army, at length found means to get provisions for them in the neighbourhood of Temeswar. As they received news that the Austrians had turned their arms towards Bosnia, the terror of the Turks subsided by degrees.

After some days, the sultan went out of Temeswar with the egrets and the vest of ceremony, mounted on a superb horse, and surrounded by the principal officers of the seraglio; for there was but one bashaw left, and he commanded the army. When Mustapha reappeared, the soldiers, who began to forget what they had suffered, were greatly rejoiced; for they thought they had left the sultan dead on the field of battle. Notwithstanding the disasters which the prince had just experienced by his own fault, he was generally esteemed. His return would have resembled a triumph, if the remembrance of the recent losses had not stamped a sort of melancholy on the earnestness which the soldiers shewed to run out to meet him. The grand seignior brought back his army towards Belgrade. He made Hussain bashaw, the governor of that place, grand vizier, and then took the road to Adrianople, after having distributed his troops in the frontier towns. He there learned that prince

J.C. 1697.
Heg. 1108,
& 1109.

The grand
seignior
puts him-
self again
at the
head of
his army,
and returns
to Adria-
nople.

J.C. 1697.
Heg. 1108,
& 1109.

Prince Eu-
gene ra-
vages Bos-
nia. The
soldiers
elect a ba-
shaw, who
is confirm-
ed by the
emperor.

Eugene was ravaging Bosnia ; that he had burnt Sarai the capital of that province ; that Said bashaw was killed in defending it ; that the troops in concert had elected Daltaban to succeed him, a brave warrior, known by important services against the Poles, and more recently against the rebels of Asia, and who a short time before had been banished to Bosnia by the last grand vizier.

Return of
the grand
seignior to
Constanti-
nople.

Daltaban having assembled all the national troops, which are never called out but on the most pressing occasions, made so good a disposition against the army of prince Eugene, that the latter, not thinking it right to hazard a battle, and seeing the season advancing, brought back his troops into winter quarters in Hungary. The grand seignior confirmed the choice of the soldiers, and sent the three horse-tails to Daltaban, after which he returned to Constantinople, perceiving nothing on his way but consternation and discouragement. The Poles, divided between the prince of Conti and the elector of Saxony Frederick Augustus, both elected successors to Sobieski by different parties, had not had leisure to make war abroad ; and as to the Turkish and Venetian fleets, they had done nothing more than watch each other.

Embassy
from
Persia.

The end of this year was remarkable by an embassy from Persia, the object of which was to obtain mosques of the sect of Ali for the Persians who lived in the dominions of the grand seignior. The magnificent presents which the ambassador made

made gave a high opinion of the riches of the Persians, and of their taste for the arts; but their negotiation was without success. The Ottoman court replied, that all the Mussulmen might adore God and praise his prophet in the places appointed for that purpose; but that the true Mussulmen ought not to furnish occasions for rendering the Divinity or Mahomet another worship than that prescribed by the original Alcoran. The Persian ambassador left Constantinople at the end of two months, sufficiently dissatisfied with the success of his mission; but his master did not then express any resentment of the refusal which he had met with.

A short time after the audience of the Persian ambassador, Mr. Deferiolles, who had followed the Turks in several of their campaigns by order of the court of France, and who had lately been appointed ambassador at the Porte in the room of Mr. Dechateauneuf, requested that a day might be appointed for his having an audience of the grand seignior, to deliver him his credentials and his presents: this ceremony is performed with more pomp for the French ambassadors than for those of the other crowns, on account of the friendship which has so long united the Porte and that court. We should give an account of a misunderstanding which deprived Mr. Deferroilles of the honor which he ought to have received, and which was like to bring on a war between the two powers.

An

J.C. 1697.
Heg. 1108,
& 1109. An oda of janissaries and the chiaus being

Mr. De
feriolles,
the French
ambassa-
dor, is not
admitted
to an au-
dience of
the Otto-
man em-
peror; and
why.

come to the French palace to honor the march of the ambassador ; the latter, mounted on a superb horse, preceded by all his household richly clothed, and by the retinue added by the Turks, followed by all the merchants of the French nation at Constantinople, repaired from the palace that he inhabited at Pera to the seraglio, where he was to be admitted to an audience of his highness.

The presents intended for the grand seignior were carried with him, which consisted of pieces of clock-work, goldsmiths' ware, looking-glasses of great value, and other rarities which the Turks, who are very magnificent and indolent, set a great value on. A law, which is almost as ancient as the Ottoman monarchy, forbids the admittance of any Giaur or Infidel, armed in any manner whatsoever, into the presence of his highness. The Mussulmen themselves don't appear before the monarch with arms, except in time of war, and when the campaign is open. Mr. Deferiolles had read in the account which his predecessor had given of his embassy, that he had never taken off his sword when he was admitted before the throne of the grand seignior. The new ambassador did not doubt that this honor, till then unknown in the Ottoman empire, had been granted to the great respect which the Turks had always shewn France, and which was increasing every day by the want which the Porte was likely to have of that crown

on

on account of its difference with the court of Vienna. Mr. Deferiolles, being resolved to enjoy the same honors as his predecessor, wore at the audience a sword very long and very remarkable by the excellency of the workmanship. On his arrival in the divan chamber, he met the new grand vizier Huffain, who received him with the customary honors, and caused to be distributed according to usage, in presence of the ambassador, the pay to the janissaries and to the bostangis of the seraglio; after this, the grand vizier and Mr. Deferiolles were served at a table where they ate alone, and the principal persons of the ambassador's retinue at different tables, at each of which some officers of the seraglio ate with them, and did them the honors. The grand vizier said to Mr. Deferiolles, that Mustapha was returned on purpose from his house at Darud Bashaw to give him audience, and that his highness would see him with pleasure. The repast being over, caftans were brought, which are a sort of gowns that the grand seignior and grand vizier always give foreigners of distinction at their audience, and which the latter put on before they appear there. The number of these gowns is proportionable to the esteem which the Porte has for the ambassador or for the prince that it receives. Thirty caftans were distributed to the French ambassador and twenty-nine of his attendants: the greatest number ever given before. As the Frenchmen, who were to enter into the throne chamber,

J.C. 1697: chamber, were putting on these caftans over
 Heg. 1108, & 1109. their other clothes, the chiau pachi, who had
 warned each of them to take off his sword, per-
 ceived that the ambassador kept on his. He
 warned Mr. Deferiolles a second time by the first
 interpreter, Mauro Cordato, who had been am-
 bassador at Vienna. On Mr. Deferiolles's re-
 fusing rather haughtily, Mauro Cordato assured
 him, that his pretension was of no consequence to
 the dignity of his master, and absolutely tended
 to nothing but to transgres the laws of the Porte,
 as, in the memory of man, no one had entered
 armed into the throne chamber in presence of
 the grand seignior. Mr. Deferiolles replied, that
 Mr. Dechateauneuf, at his audience, had never
 taken off his sword; Mauro Cordato and the
 old officers of the seraglio strongly denied it, de-
 claring all, that, so far from Mr. Dechateauneuf's
 having worn a sword in presence of the em-
 peror, he had none on when he came out of his
 palace, or on his way to the seraglio.* As the
 quarrel began to grow high between the chiau
 pachi and the ambassador, the grand vizier being
 gone into the throne chamber, Mauro Cordato,
 who openly professed himself attached to France,
 and who in fact had been magnificently paid by
 Mr. Dechateauneuf, took the ambassador aside,
 and

* Mr. Dechateauneuf having written in the account which he gave in, and having since asserted, that he never took off his sword at his audience, it is probable that, as the French wore at that time very short bangers, Mr. Dechateauneuf concealed one of these in the plait of his coat and under his caftan.

and earnestly conjured him to give up a claim which was without foundation, and might embroil two powers which had been friends for several years, saying, that it was the duty of ambassadors to surmount or elude difficulties, not to start them. Mr. Deseriolles replied haughtily to this pathetic exhortation, that he was not come to start difficulties, but at the same time he would not debase his character and nation; that, supposing he were not an ambassador, as a French gentleman he never ought to lay aside his sword but by order of his master; that as to the rest, the account given in to Lewis XIV. by his predecessor was in his instructions; that he was ordered to conform thereto; and that he could not disobey his master. The chiau pachi, to whom the grand vizier had left every thing, durst not introduce the ambassador into the throne chamber, nor deny him the entrance of it. He sent for the grand vizier to inform him of what was passing. The sultan had been seated on his throne for more than half an hour, surrounded by the bashaws of the bench, the mufti, the mollacs, all the agas of the seraglio, in short, all the pomp which the Porte never fails of displaying on such occasions. The grand vizier intreated Mr. Deseriolles to take off his sword, for the same reasons as Mauro Cordato had given him; but he could not prevail more than the interpreter. As he was on the point of declaring to him that he should not be admitted to the

J.C. 1697.
Heg. 1108.
& 1109.

J.C. 1697. grand seignior's audience, the chiau pachi took
Heg. 1108,
& 1109. the prime minister aside, and conferred with him some moments, after which the grand vizier returning into the throne chamber, without speaking to the ambassador, the chiau pachi told him that he was going to have audience, and that he must begin his march. Mr. Deferiolles thought he had obtained by his perseverance what the officers of the Porte had attempted to refuse him; he arrogantly placed himself between the two capiggis pachis who were to walk by him during the ceremony. Those of his attendants, who were to follow him into the throne chamber, being ranged in order, marched between two rows of bostangis, capiggis, and black eunuchs, which extended from the divan chamber to that of the throne. As soon as the door was opened, Mr. Deferiolles saw the estrade of the grand seignior, and at the same time felt a hand endeavouring to wrest his sword from him, on which he immediately directed his thither, and, making a few steps backward, exclaimed : “ Is it to my master or me this insult is intended, and what is the meaning of this violence ? ” These words, pronounced very loud, were heard by the emperor, who, though he did not understand them, suspected what was the matter. He sent the capi aga, or chief of the white eunuchs, to forbid any violence being used. The grand vizier followed the chief of the eunuchs ; he found Mr. Deferiolles returned to the place from whence

he

he had begun his march, and who bitterly complained to him of the insult that he had received. J.C. 1697.
 Heg. 1108,
 & 1109.
 Hussain replied, that it was contrary to the sultan's orders and his own that his person had been touched, and that he was assured it had happened entirely through inadvertency, on account of the crowd that surrounded the door and without any intention to take his sword from him; but he told him at the same time that he would never appear before Mustapha, unless he voluntarily laid it aside. Mr. Deferiolles answered only by taking off his caftan, ordering his retinue to do the same, and his equerry to bring his horses. The caftans were piled up on the sofas, lest the Turks should accuse the ambassador's officers of having rejected them with contempt; and Mr. Deferiolles remounted his horse, without being accompanied by any but his household and the janissaries appointed to attend him. It was thought for some time that this affair would produce serious consequences. The Turks had often violated the law of nations on less important occasions; but the low state in which the Porte was, would not permit Mustapha to shew the least resentment. The presents intended to be offered were sent back the same day to the ambassador's palace, and the grand vizier seemed to forget this affair, to attend only to that which interested the Porte before all others. J.C. 1698.
 Heg. 1109,
 & 1110.

The preparations were making for the ensuing campaign with great difficulty and discouragement.

J.C. 1698. ment. The people no longer shewed that eagerness which they had discovered at first for enlisting in the different military corps. The timarians were obliged to be summoned several times to appear with the number of men which they were to entertain, before their troop was complete. The grand seignior, who, in order to know the sentiments of the people and of the army, mixed often with the crowd, heard nothing but complaints and fatal presages. Since the battle of Zenta he had lost the esteem and confidence of the people. They said aloud, that God had declared for the Infidels, and that the European possessions must be expected to be entirely lost if the war lasted much longer; that the treasuries of the mosques being soon drained, the imposts with which the subjects of the empire would be oppressed, would only enrich the enemy and expose more men to the destroying sword; and that generals without talents led to certain death soldiers without courage. These repeated complaints grieved the emperor to the very heart; he felt his incapacity, and knew no one in his empire that he could oppose against prince Eugene. His grand vizier Huzzain bashaw was continually repeating to him, that a peace must be had at any price; but neither he nor his master expected that the victorious enemy would listen to reasonable conditions. The minister earnestly desired to renew the conferences with the English and Dutch ambassadors, who, disheartened

disheartened by the little success of their former efforts, observed the profoundest silence. The grand vizier was afraid if he spoke first, that he should be made buy what he so much wished for at too dear a rate: At length Mauro Cordato, the Greek whose address and abilities were so much esteemed by the Turks, and whom the money of Lewis XIV. had 'till then made very much against a peace, being at variance with Mr. Deferiolles, who was exceedingly displeased with him on account of the audience affair, went to the grand vizier, to give him to understand, that it would not be impossible to bring on a negotiation, and that there was every reason to think it would be attended with success; that Leopold, all victorious as he was, had many reasons to desire a peace with the Porte; that every one knew how much his finances were drained; that the treaty lately concluded at Ryswick would not procure him a long repose, as the king of Spain, on the brink of the grave, would soon leave a succession to dispute between the house of France and the branch of Leopold; that the king of France and the emperor of the West, the dauphin and the king of the Romans, were equally descended from Austrian princesses of the Spanish branch; that the Germans had the greatest interest to fix this rich succession in the house of Austria which had remained in it a long time, but that the French claimed the right of primogeniture; for the princess that was mother to

the

J.C. 1698.
Heg. 1109,
& 1110.

Mauro
Cordato
brings on
a confe-
rence for
a peace.

J.C. 1698. the dauphin was elder than the mother of the
Heg. 1709,
& 1710. king of the Romans. These good reasons easily prevailed on the grand vizier to permit Mauro Cordato to make overtures to the two ambassadors of England and Holland, on condition of his not acknowledging to them that he was sent. This Greek had taken for the rule of his conduct a maxim of a Turkish poet, which says, *that a falsehood which brings about an affair, is preferable to the truth that embroils it.* He went immediately to the two ambassadors ; and having first exacted a solemn oath from each of them that they would not discover any thing of what he was going to tell them, he assured them, that the Turks were reduced to such a state, that they would accept any conditions which should be proposed to them ; that no moment could be more favorable for concluding a glorious peace ; that if they would make the first overture, he would be answerable that they would find as much facility in the negotiation as they had before met with obstacles ; that his being a Christian and the kindness which he had received at Vienna during his residence there, strongly attached him to the interest of Leopold ; and that it was his regard for the emperor of the West which made him inform them of what might be very useful to his service. Sir
Paget and Mr. Colliere replied unanimously, that all the advances which the Turks might make would be favorably received ; but that it

was

was not proper either for the mediating powers, J.C. 1693.
or Leopold as vanquisher, to make the first ad-
vances. Mauro Cordato, having gotten this
answer from the two ambassadors, hastened back
to the grand vizier's to tell him that he was
commissioned by sir Paget and Mr. Col-
liere to ask him if he were willing to appoint a
conference for a peace. Huffain bashaw replied
to his druggerman only by embracing him with
transport, and immediately sent the reis effendi
and his kiaia to the ambassadors to settle with
them the place and time. Mauro Cordato fol-
lowed them with intention to be their interpreter.
As matters stood, it was highly necessary that the
office of druggerman should be trusted to none but
him. Each of the two parties being well con-
vinced that they had not made the first overtures,
both were conducted where both earnestly desired
to arrive. The mediators wrote to Vienna, Ve-
nice, Warsaw, and Moscow, immediately, in order
that the different powers might send their pleni-
potentiaries to the place of conference, which they
appointed at Carlowitz, a small town situated be-
tween Peterwaradin and Belgrade. The French
ambassador, who did not learn these news 'till
they were public, made vain efforts to traverse
the peace. The grand vizier replied to his re-
proaches, that the French, having themselves
concluded the treaty of Ryswick, ought not to
be astonished at the Porte's being desirous of
putting an end to the war likewise.

The
French
ambassador
complains
in vain
against it.

Meanwhile

J.C. 1698.
Heg 1109,
& 1110.

Meanwhile the armies entered the field ; but they remained in observation without undertaking any thing on either side : Each was sufficiently tired with the preceding fatigues to relish the repose which the circumstances admitted. The plenipotentiaries repaired to the place appointed ; the little town being scarcely sufficient to hold their carriages and retinue, they had recourse to tents. The Porte sent thither the reis effendi Rami Mehemet, with Mauro Cordato, likewise invested with an honorable title, which signifies nearly private secretary to the divan ; the plenipotentiaries for Leopold were, count Petingen and count Schlik, privy counsellors ; for the czar, Procope Bognavits and Vosnicini ; for Poland, Stanislaus Michael Nofski, waywode of Posnania ; lastly, for the republic of Venice, the noble Rosini. Lord Paget and Mr. Colliere, the English and Dutch ambassadors, acted as mediators. What had already happened in several congresses was the case at Carlowitz, that the ceremonial was longer and more difficult to settle than the objects for which the assembly was held. The place where the conferences should be ; the precedence, whether of the mediators, or between the plenipotentiaries ; the reciprocal visits ; in short, every thing gave subject for contest. The Turks claimed the first place, and the ambassadors of Leopold would not give it up. The English and Dutch ambassadors, as mediators, would have the first rank. The

Polish

Polish ambassador claimed the seat next to the <sup>J.C. 1698.
Heg. 1109,
& 1110.</sup> Imperial powers ; but neither the Russians nor the Venetian would consent to be placed after him. They had the same claims and disputes with respect to their visits ; and things were gotten to such a height, that, after continuing for more than three months in this manner, the plenipotentiaries were on the point of separating without having seen one another. Mauro Cordato, more ingenious, or rather more cunning, than the rest, thought of a way to manage the pride of all these nations. An edifice of a round form was built in the middle of the square at Carlowitz, consisting of a large room, with as many doors as there were nations, opening on the side that looked towards each country. The tents of the ambassadors were disposed in the same manner at equal distances. The first day of the congress, at a signal given by the mediators, they all left their pavilions at the same time, arrived at the same time in the congress chamber, saluted one another at the same time, and took each the seat that was prepared for him at a table which was likewise of a round form, on which the mediators had disposed every thing necessary for the discussion of the different interests.

The conferences began the 14th of November, <sup>J.C. 1699.
Heg. 1120,
& 1111.</sup> and every thing was concluded by the 26th of January ; the Christians too had obtained an intermission of some days to celebrate their Christ-

J.C. 1699.
Heg. 1110,
& 1111. mas. The emperor Leopold agreed to a truce with the Turks for the space of twenty-five years.

Treaty of Carlowitz;
conditions of the treaty. The following were the conditions of it. All Transylvania was ceded to the emperor Leopold in the same extent that it had been possessed by the last prince Michael Abaffi and his predecessors; Temeswar was confirmed to the sultan; and in order to prevent all possibility of blocking up or famishing this town, six neighbouring towns were dismantled, without the fortifications being permitted to be raised again. It was also stipulated, that the navigation of the Teisse and Marosch should be free for both empires; that the emperor of the West should continue master of all the country between the Danube and the Taiffe; that in order to fix the limits of Hungary on the east side, a straight line should be drawn from the mouth of the Marosch along the borders of the Taiffe as far as the mouth of the Bossat at the place where it enters the Save; that on the south side the Save should serve for limits between the dominions of the Turks and those of the emperor of the West as far as the place where the confluence of the Unna is formed; that in this extent of reciprocal frontiers, no fortress should be raised or repaired, except Belgrade and Peterwaradin. The czar of Russia concluded a truce for two years only, during which each was to remain in possession of what he had taken. The Poles agreed to the same truce as the emperor; the conditions were, that Kaminieck,

Podolia,

Podolia, and the Ukraine, should be restored J.C. 1699.
Heg. 1110,
& 1111. them in all their extent, and as they had belonged to Poland before the invasion of Mahomet; Poland restored to the Porte three small places in Moldavia. The agreement made with the Venetians was, that they should have all the Morea as far as Hexamilium; that the Turks should possess the main land, with Lepanto; but that the Venetians should remain masters of the isle of Saint Maura, as likewise of the neighbouring islands. In Dalmatia, the republic of Venice gained six places. Venice retained likewise the castles of Castelnovo and Risano; each might erect new fortresses on the limits or repair those that had been demolished. It was agreed that this treaty should be ratified by the contracting powers, and that the two emperors of the East and West should mutually send ambassadors to each other.

Thus terminated this general peace so much desired by the contracting parties. The plenipotentiaries and the mediators resigned themselves to the public testimonies of joy, which people came to divide with them from all the neighbouring countries. The Germans made fountains of wine run, which at first offended the Turks; but presently these good Ottomans, drawn by a spirit of concord, yielded to the invitations of their new allies, and drank with them. The mediators, passing through Belgrade in their return to Constantinople, were received

J.C. 1699. with all the marks of acknowledgment that a
 Heg. 1110,
 & 1111. people escaped from great danger considered as
 due to their deliverers. They received every
 where on their passage the same marks of joy
 and gratitude; at Adrianople, where the sultan
 was at that time, the rejoicings recommenced on
 the arrival of the mediators. The grand vizier
 loaded them with honors, presents, and praise.
 It is to be remarked, that in this treaty, the name
 of count Tekli is not even mentioned; the
 Turks left him an asylum at Pera, in which he
 passed an obscure old age with some succours
 furnished him by Lewis XIV. We shall see in
 the sequel prince Ragotski, who married his only
 daughter, the inheritor of the pretensions and
 misfortunes of his father-in-law.

The emperor of
 the Turks distributes
 a territory to fourteen hundred families of Hungarian refugees. One article of the treaty of Carlowitz imported, that the Hungarian rebels should obtain their pardon, and that those, who, being too much exasperated against the Austrian power, would not remain in their own country, should have liberty to remove to Turkey. Fourteen hundred families took advantage of this clause; the grand seignior caused lands to be distributed to them, which they cultivated as they pleased, enjoying liberty of conscience, under condition of paying the tenth after ten years' establishment, and of furnishing, whenever they should be called upon for that purpose, one man out of five in a state to bear arms, from sixteen years old to forty.

The

The grand seignior having learned that both J.C. 1699.
 the people and the janissaries murmured at his Heg. 1110,
 too long residence at Adrianople, which deprived & 1111.
 his capital of the splendor and opulence which
 the court of the emperor and the numerous odas
 of janissaries and spahis drew thither ; being de-
 sirous likewise to give more solemnity to the
 ratification of the treaty which an ambassador
 was to bring from Vienna, he thought it proper
 to return to Constantinople.

The exchange of the two ambassadors was J.C. 1700.
 made in the beginning of January 1700 at Sala- Heg. 1111,
 nakem. Count Hottinguen, the Austrian am- & 1112.
 bassador, was conducted to Belgrade to receive The
 powers
 mutually
 send am-
 bassadors
 to one ano-
 ther to
 confirm
 the peace.
 the honors and presents which were prepared for
 him : he passed two days in that town in sumptuous entertainments, which shewed more and
 more how agreeable the peace was to the Ottoman court. The ambassador received the same
 honors at Adrianople as at Belgrade : at length, being arrived the first of March within sight of Constantinople, he stopped to prepare for his entry, which he made the eighth with a magnificence worthy of the master that he represented, of the power to which he was sent, and of the importance of his mission. The emperor and the grand vizier gave him audience successively. Instead of a simple caftan of silk, which the Christian ministers had 'till then received, they dressed count Hottinguen on these two occasions in a vest of sable. The presents on both sides were

^{J.C. 1700.} ~~Beg. 1111,~~ were of the greatest magnificence. The ratification of the treaty being but a mere ceremony, ^{& 1112.} the residence of the Austrian ambassador was not long at Constantinople, nor was that of the Ottoman minister at Vienna. They both returned at the same time, and were exchanged at the same place and with the same form as when they came. Venice and Poland also sent ambassadors, who brought the ratification of the treaty: they were received likewise with honor; but it was easy to perceive, by their reception, by the replies of the sultan and of the grand vizier, and even by the style of their equipage, that king John Sobieski was dead, and that the Turks were more afraid of prince Eugene, than of all the Polish and Venetian generals together.

The sultan
retires to
Karisch-
tiran.

Murmurs
against the
peace.

Immediately after the departure of the ambassadors, the grand seignior retired to Karisch-tiran palace, which is a small town between Constantinople and Adrianople, an agreeable place for hunting and shooting. Mahomet IV. had built a pleasure-house there. The sojourn of his son in this place where Mahomet had addicted himself so long to idleness and pleasure, made the people murmur, who highly blamed this peace purchased with the finest provinces. Mustapha experienced that a nation governed despotically is often the less under subjection for it; that the slave who shakes off his chains with indignation, is much nearer rebellion than the citizen who knows how much the convulsions of

a state

a state are dangerous for himself. They com- J.C. 1700.
plained of this prince, who at first had given the Heg. 1111,
greatest hopes, but whom the love of repose, of
rustical amusements, and of debauchery, had for
some years past wrested from the cares of his em-
pire, and who had just lost a considerable part of
the territory which his ancestors had conquered.
This was still worse when they learned from all
parts that the czar Peter of Moscovy was em-
ploying the time of the truce in making great
preparations for war; that he was raising troops
and disciplining them like the French and Ger-
mans; that he was building a large fleet; and
that fortresses were erecting at equal distances
along the Boristhenes. The people cried that
war must be declared without delay against this
dangerous neighbour, or he would soon extend
the bounds of his empire at the expence of the
Ottoman possessions, as the emperor Leopold
had just done. The khan of the Tartars, more
interested than any one else to put a stop to
these enterprises, sent frequent intelligence to
the Porte. Notwithstanding the assurances which
the vizier repeatedly gave his master that the let-
ters of the Tartarian prince contained nothing
but falsities; that these people desired ardently a
war on account of the booty which they could
not well do without, the Tartars knowing better
how to massacre human beings than to cultivate
the earth, and that if panic terrors were listened
to, the peace would never be enjoyed which had
been

J.C. 1700.
Heg. 1111,
& 1112.

The emperor is deceived by a spy that he sends to the frontiers of Russia.

been so much wanted, and which they had been obliged to purchase at so dear a rate; the grand seignior resolved to send a spy into Crimean Tartary and to the confines of Russia, in order to assure himself of the facts. He chose for this delicate commission Kibleli, his master of the horse, who was to visit, without any public character, and without a retinue, all the czar's new fortresses, examine the levies of troops, the stores, in short, to render an exact account of every thing that was obvious, and endeavour to penetrate by address and money the intentions of the court of Russia. This Kibleli was nephew by his mother's side to the grand vizier; but the prince, who had not consulted the minister on the choice which he had made of the master of the horse, knew nothing of it. The envoy, or rather spy, of the Porte, agreed secretly with his uncle, before he set out, that they would concert together on his return what account he should give the emperor. He saw in fact that vessels were building at a great expence in two ports of Russia, Voroneschi and Asoph; that several places had been fortified on the other side of the Boristhenes; that the cataracts of this river were rectified, and that by great labour the navigation of it was made quite free; that the Russians threatened Turkey aloud; and that the last peace had given great hopes and spirits to the enemies of the Porte. Kibleli, on his return to Constantinople, communicated what he had learned to

the

J.C. 1700.
Heg. 1111,
& 1112.

the grand vizier and the mufti, who were both united in inclination, opinion, and interest. These timid old men thought that if they kept the emperor in the dark, all would go right. They dictated to Kibleli an account to give the grand seignior, quite different from that which they had just heard. He was to tell the prince, that the fortifications of the places on the Boristhenes, which had been begun during the war, had been stopt as soon as the news of the truce had been received ; that the Russians were building vessels for commerce only ; and that the czar was preparing an embassy to the Porte to confirm the peace between the two nations. Mustapha, whom the battle of Zenta and so many other unfortunate events had given a dislike to war, easily believed what he wished. He wrote thundering letters to the khan of the Tartars, with the tone which a powerful prince makes use of to a vassal removeable at will, reproaching him with having deceived him. The prince of the Tartars replied with firmness, that the envoy of Mustapha was the sole deceiver ; he persisted in every thing that he had already said, adding, that the evil grew worse and worse, and that perhaps it would be too late to remedy it when it should be desired. This letter was carried to the emperor by an officer of the seraglio, who was no friend to the grand vizier. The khan had taken precautions to prevent this new advice from falling into hands interested in suppressing it. Kibleli, being

J.C. 1700.
Heg. 1111,
& 1112. sent for again, would fain maintain what he had first advanced ; but being closely pressed by the questions of the monarch, he varied on some circumstances ; and as he was threatened to have the truth wrested from his mouth by the torture, which was prepared before him, he fell on his knees to the sultan, and confessed that the grand vizier, his uncle, had forced him to disguise the truth to his highness. After having agreed to all that the khan of the Tartars had said, he was conducted to the Seven Towers, where a few days after he was strangled. The mufti, whom Kibeli had not accused, protected the grand vizier his friend : his life was not taken ; he got off with the loss of the seals and part of his fortune ; for the chief of the law obtained, that he should be left wherewithal to live quietly in a private state ; but grief, or natural infirmities, put an end to his days two months after his deposition.

J.C. 1701.
Heg. 1113. The mufti, who, since Mustapha had been disgusted with war, had acquired a great ascendancy over his master, pointed out to him for grand vizier Daltaban, who, being bashaw of Bosnia, had had the glory of stopping prince Eugene, and who had been since sent to Bagdad to keep the Arabians in order, because he had formerly protected the caravans in their way to Mecca. This was the only bashaw who had acquired any reputation in the last war ; and his first exploits in Asia had gotten him such a degree

Daltaban
is made
grand vi-
zier.

of

This spy
is punish-
ed, and the
emperor
deposes the
grand vi-
zier.

J.C. 1791.
Heg. 1113.

He blames
the peace
of Carlo-
witz, and
quarrels
with the
mufti.

of favor, that the efforts of several enemies had only increased his credit. On his arrival at Adrianople, where he received the seals of the empire, he demanded of Rami reis effendi and Mauro Cordato an account of the peace which they had concluded as plenipotentiaries, and the sacrifices that they had made to gain it. When he learned that the Porte had given up all Transylvania, and every thing that it possessed in Hungary; that it had lost Kaminieck, that bulwark so necessary and secure on the side of Poland; and that a great part of the country of which he had been bashaw was reduced under the power of the Giaurs, he could not disguise his indignation, and repeated several times to the two plenipotentiaries, that they had betrayed the empire. Though the mufti, who had just raised him to the dignity of grand vizier, had confirmed this peace by a fetfa, Daltaban boldly declared to the grand seignior and to the mufti himself, that the Ottoman empire could not be established on a solid basis 'till this shameful treaty were broken. The Mussulman law opposed it; the Alcoran absolutely forbids the breaking of an engagement, even with the Giaurs, unless they have broken it first. Now both the Poles and Austrians had faithfully executed all the articles, and there was no pretext for freeing the empire from the disgrace of this peace. The only way the grand vizier could think of was to pretend that the ministers, sent to Carlowitz, had ex-

J.C. 1701.
Heg. 1113.

ceeded their powers, to have them punished in consequence, and to declare, after their chastisement, that a treaty made without sufficient powers was void. The first of these ambassadors, in quality of effendi, could not be put to death. The privileges of the clergy had always been greatly respected in this despotic country. When they want to put an effendi to death, means must be found to get him out of the ulema, where he is sure to find protection. The grand vizier, in order to conform to the law, and satisfy his wish, proposed to the sultan to give Rami a bashawcy; this promotion drew the reis effendi out of the ulema, and, by giving him an almost absolute authority over a province, deprived him of his own safety. The mufti, whose creature Rami was, perceived the snare; being himself interested in countenancing the peace, he obtained that Rami, instead of being a bashaw of one-tail in some petty Asiatic province, which would remove him from the Porte and expose him to lose his life at the pleasure of the grand vizier, should be a bashaw of the bench or of three-tails, a member of the divan, without any particular bashawcy that should require his residence from court. Daltaban clearly perceived, that another interest than his had opened the entrance of the prince's council to the man whom he had meant to raise only to destroy. He complained highly of the proceedings of the mufti, and for the second time a grand vizier was seen speak to the

soldiers

soldiers against the government, and seek the support of the army against the emperor and his favorites.

Meanwhile Rami, who had penetrated the designs of his enemy, perceived that he must expect to be the victim of the prime minister, if he did not take advantage of his credit and the time which he had left, to ruin him. The new bashaw of the bench attached himself more than ever to the mufti, confirming him in the opinion that it was the instruments of the peace of Carlowitz which were aimed at; and that though the dignity of chief of the Mussulman law seemed to secure his head, the snares that a grand vizier had in his power to lay, and the esteem which the latter was in with the people, rendered the situation of his enemies very dangerous, let them be who they would. Mauro Cordato, who had more reason than any one to dread Daltaban, and who was still alive only because the grand vizier wanted to have all the authors of the peace of Carlowitz put to death at the same time, pretended to have discovered that the mufti's life was in danger, and that Daltaban intended to entice him to his house to have him strangled. Improbable as this attempt was, which would only have stirred up the good Mussulmen against the minister, who had the greatest interest to please them; the mufti, who was really invited to an entertainment at the grand vizier's, instead of going thither, went to the seraglio and informed

The enemies of the vizier cabal against him.

J.C. 1701. formed the sultan of the danger which he thought
 Heg. 1113. himself in. He added, that the man, who did not respect the life of the chief of the law, would soon attempt that of his sovereign; that in the two months which Daltaban had been at the head of administration, he had done nothing but blame the peace of Carlowitz, (by means of which the empire would soon recover its exhausted forces,) menace the authors of that necessary treaty, and make the people, particularly the soldiers, contemn and dislike the prince who governed them.

*They pre-
vail on the
grand seig-
nior to
have him
strangled.*

Mustapha was but too much accustomed to listen to the mufti Fezula. He no longer beheld Daltaban but as a traitor and an assassin, and his death was instantly resolved on; but as the vizier was thought determined on an immediate revolt, a pretext was necessary to draw him to the seraglio. The person who had succeeded Rami bashaw as reis effendi, sent word to the grand vizier, from the emperor, that the prince, having reflected on the promotion which he had made of Rami to the dignity of bashaw of the bench, was of his opinion, and that he would rather send Rami to Babadachi as sangiac, than put a man at the head of the divan who had not yet passed through the first offices of state; and that he must come to the seraglio to confer with the grand seignior on the catcherif which it would be requisite to issue on this occasion. The grand vizier, who thought he had the confidence of his master, was pleased with this pretended change,

change, and repaired to the seraglio immediately. J.C. 1701.
Heg. 1113. On entering the divan chamber to wait for the chief of the white eunuchs to introduce him to the grand seignior, he found no one in this great room, the doors of which he saw with surprise were guarded by boftangis. After a quarter of an hour, the chiau pachi came and demanded the seals of the empire from him in the name of Mustapha. The prime minister, without being ruffled, said that it was essentially necessary for him to speak to the grand seignior; that he would remit the seals to him voluntarily, and that he was ready to sacrifice his life for him, but that his highness ought not to refuse him a moment's conversation. Mustapha would not grant this request. As Daltaban persisted in his demand, the sultan, transported with rage, ordered him to be conducted to the place of execution to be beheaded, which they prepared to do. When the grand vizier was on the point of losing his head, the felictar aga came from Mustapha to invite him to purify himself by the abdest before he died, and to tell the grand seignior the secret which he had at first been desirous of communicating to him alone. Daltaban replied, that he had never begun an important action without performing the abdest, and that he had done it before he left his own house; that his soul was resigned to God, as his body was to the unjust men who had it in custody; that as to the secret, he did not think he owed any thing more to the tyrant who was going

*J.C. 1701.
Heg. 1113.* going to take away his life, for having always served the state better than any of those whom he had employed before him, and for having sought the means to free the Ottoman empire from the disgrace of the peace concluded by poltrons. This answer, which was carried immediately to Mustapha, did not fail to stagger him. He ordered the execution to be suspended. The condemned prisoner was conducted into the inner prison of the seraglio; but the mufti, and Rami bashaw, who had just been honored with the dignity of grand vizier, comprehending how dangerous it might be to let Daltaban appear before the grand seignior, employed all their address and influence to hasten the execution of the minister. In fact, he was dragged the next morning at break of day to the place of execution, and after purifying himself by the abdest in a marble basin appropriated to that use, he lost his life, invoking Mahomet, and protesting his innocence and the malice of his enemies.

Execution
of the
prime
minister.

Discontent
of the
people.

The cannon of the seraglio, which announced this execution to the city and to the troops, threw both into a consternation. Daltaban was greatly respected in the empire, not by what he had done in the two months which he had been minister, but by the reputation which he had acquired, both against the Germans and the Arabians. The janissaries cried aloud in the streets: “ How can it be hoped to recover the glory of the Ottomans, if those who have talents

“ talents

"lents for war, and the bravery necessary to J.C. 1701.
 "lead us against the enemy, perish by the hands
 "of the executioner? We shall be neither
 "governed nor commanded in future but by
 "chelebs,* who have learned war and politics in
 "the servile offices of the seraglio, or in the
 "religious practices of the ulema; and these brave
 "agavats, grown old in the service, taught by
 "the faults or success of their commanders, if
 "they approach the throne, will be sacrificed
 "presently to the intrigues of effeminate cour-
 "tiers." These complaints were increasing at
 Constantinople, when Kiuperli Abdulla, the son
 of Kiuperli Mustaphia who was killed at the bat-
 tle of Salanakem, was sent thither as caimacan.
 This family, the only one that can be counted
 among the Turks besides the Ottoman race, had,
 as we have seen, produced several viziers who
 had all governed with great distinction. The
 mufti gave one of his daughters in marriage to
 the young Abdulla, the only remaining branch
 of the Kiuperlis; and as the chief of the law
 knew that the emperor would refuse him nothing
 that he should ask, he got his son-in-law ap-
 pointed bashaw of the bench and caimacan of
 Constantinople during the residence of the court
 at Adrianople and Karischtiran. He had given

The mufti
abuses
his favor.

* They call chelebs all the viziers, bashaws, or sangiacs, taken from the icoglans, and who have passed through the several offices of the seraglio, or those of the ulema; and agavats those who, without ever having been effendis, or had any post in the seraglio, rise to these dignities by their ser-
vices in the army. Daltaban was of these last.

J.C. 1701. the place of mollac of Jerusalem to his own son,
Heg. 1113. who was as young as the caimacan of Constantinople.

J.C. 1702. If, in a despotic country, it is rare for men
Heg. 1114. grown old in place not to abuse their favor, it
Abuse of could not be expected but young men without
power of creatures. experience and almost without education, who
found themselves at the pinnacle of grandeur,
would look on those who were under them as the
instruments of their authority, or the slaves of
their caprices. The mollac of Jerusalem issued
extravagant orders every day, which the bashaw
durst not prevent the execution of, because he
dreaded the power of the mufti who was exceed-
ingly partial to his son as well as his son-in-law.
One night, the mollac's sleep being disturbed by
the barking of some dogs, he was so enraged
that he ordered all these animals in Jerusalem
and its environs to be killed. This sentence
was directly contrary to the Alcoran, which or-
ders domestic animals to be taken care of, and
forbids the killing of any beast, unless it be hurt-
ful, or necessary for the nourishment of man.
The Turks in general are very fond of dogs, and
consider it as a duty to feed them. The odd
condemnation which the mollac had just pro-
nounced, stirred up a mutiny in the city. It is
not improbable that the bashaw who was disfa-
tisfied with him, contributed to excite it; but
every thing gave way to the authority of the
mufti. He sent a fetva from Adrianople, which
approved

approved the conduct of his son, for this time J.C. 1702.
only, without its being permitted to kill dogs Heg. 1114. in future. This circumstance emboldened the young mollac, who, a few months after, issued a new order, equally absurd and still harder than the first. The flies were very troublesome at Jerusalem during the heat of the summer. The pontiff-magistrate ordered, that each artisan should bring him every day forty of these insects stringed up, under pain of a severe fine, and he caused this ridiculous sentence to be executed with great severity. All the artisans were constrained to quit their work to catch flies; and the complaints recommenced against the son of the mufti. These tyrannical puerilities had filled all the soldiers and the people of Asia with indignation against the government. An injustice committed by the young caimakan of Constantinople decided the insurrection which the inattention of the grand vizier and the imbecility of the mufti had been preparing for a long time. Though the expences of government since the peace were considerably lessened, the finances were not in a better state. Whilst the grand vizier Rami was at Karischtiran, endeavouring to conciliate the favor of his master, the collectors of the taxes appropriated the money to their own use. The caimakan of Constantinople having neither sufficient prudence, nor talents, nor perhaps power, to prevent those abuses, the people complained of the absence of the emperor. The officers in power seized this opportunity

Disorders
in the
state.

J.C. 1702.
Heg. 1114.

tunity to do for themselves, and those who claimed what might be called lawful debts were in fact the only ones who did not take advantage of the present occasion to enrich themselves with the money of the public.

The caimacan refuses the jebeggis their pay, which occasions an insurrection.

The janissaries had been kept without their pay a long time. When it had been paid with great difficulty, there was no more money in the public treasury for the jebeggis and the soldiery who guarded the ammunition and provisions. This was insufficient to satisfy a famished troop, who were not to be imposed on by such a young man as the caimacan. The deputies of the jebeggis, charged with making remonstrances, had recourse to abusive language. The caimacan having ordered them to be taken into custody for being wanting in respect to him, made resistance, and called their comrades. The jebeggis assembled, and fell furiously on the caimacan's delis, killed several of them, and carried the prisoners in triumph to their quarters. The vanquishers reported to their comrades what had passed between the caimacan and them, their just request, and the arrogance and hardness with which it had been rejected; and they concluded with saying, that it was in vain to hope for justice whilst the Mussulmen should be at the mercy of a young man without beard or brains, equally arrogant and incapable, and who knew only how to order punishments. Caracach Mahomet, a principal officer of this corps, having spoken

with

with more vehemence than the rest, proposed to J.C. 1702.
Heg. 1114. the jebeggis to commune with the janissaries, whom he knew to be as discontented as they were, though they had received their pay, to seize on the gates of Constantinople, and to pillage every thing that they could find both at the caimacan's and the defterdar's, who is the treasurer of the public money. This proposal was received with joy ; and as all seditions increase when they are not opposed at their commencement, as soon as the two corps had taken up arms, and the gates of Constantinople were shut, Caracach Mahomet said to the soldiers, that it was not worth their while to engage in such dangerous proceedings merely to get the jebeggis paid ; that, since they were armed, it would be right to overturn the government, which there was so much reason to complain of, and to trample on those who wanted to subject the people to such an unjust yoke. Let us appoint ministers, cried they, in the place of those fools, mad-men, and rogues, who do so much mischief. Several replied to these clamours, that Caracach Mahomet should be grand vizier ; but he took care how he accepted that perilous office : he would rather employ tools on whom the blame might fall, than expose himself. The ulema was convoked in the great mosque, where all the rebels repaired in a crowd. Caracach, affecting much modesty, said, that he was not in any respect a person of sufficient consequence to have this important

The janissaries and
people ap-
point new
ministers.

^{J.C. 1702.}
^{Heg. 1114.} portant dignity conferred on him ; that if the bad choice of the emperor's ministers provoked a rebellion, care should be taken not to fall into the same error as they wished to remedy. He was the first to give his vote for an old bashaw, called Dorojan, who, two years before, had been deprived of his government, because he had not been able to find presents to maintain himself in it. This election was made by acclamation. Kiasibi Mehemet effendi, of the race of the emirs, became mufti in the same manner, and they named for caimacan another deposed bashaw, called Ferrari. These principal officers chose an aga of the janissaries, an aga of the jebeggis, a defterdar, and all the other officers of less importance. The new mufti declared to the people by a fetfa, that the good Mussulmen had been constrained by necessity to remedy the abuses, and to make war against the unjust ministers, who oppressed the people instead of governing them ; that it was necessary to recall the invincible emperor into his capital, which had been too long deprived of his gracious presence, to engage him to employ none but sage financiers, brave officers, and equitable judges, such as those who had been just chosen ; in short, to oblige the sultan to govern according to the law of the great prophet, or to pull him down from his throne and place thereon a prince more agreeable to God. This fetfa was sent into all the Asiatic bashawcies, in which the bashaws, beglerbegs, sangiacs, mol-

The new
mufti dis-
tributes a
fetfa in the
provinces.

lacs,

lacs, imans, and cadis, were confirmed, except those who were in the interest of the old mufti Fezula and the grand vizier Rami. It is to be supposed that the fly-catchers of Jerusalem voluntarily drove out the mollac who had treated them so cruelly.

The caimakan Kiuperli, who received early advice of the conspiracy, had taken advantage of the first indetermination of the conspirators to escape to Adrianople. It is remarkable that in this convulsion of a despotic government, there was not a single drop of blood spilt. Almost all the deposed officers were at Adrianople, and those who inhabited the capital had yielded to the storm or fled before they could be taken into custody. Their houses were pillaged, or rather the new grand vizier caused juridical seizures to be made, with all the order and precaution employed in the quietest times. They penetrated into the very inner part of the seraglio; and the kislar agasi, who ought not to acknowledge any other authority than the sultan's, was forced to give an account of all the sums intrusted to him, both in the treasuries of the royal mosques and in those of his highness, and even in that of the haram. With this money and that of the other imposts which the new defterdar daily received in the name of the grand seignior, the troops were paid, and even gratified with an indemnity for what they ought to have received on Mustapha's accession to the throne. The mufti, the grand vizier,

J.C. 1702. vizier, and Caracach his counsellor, judged it
 Heg. 1114. prudent to encamp the troops near Constanti-
 nople. They counted more than fifty thousand
 men under arms; for the people had enlisted
 in crowds in the different corps, and some
 odas had had time to come from the nearest
 Asiatic provinces.

The rebel
army en-
camps
near Con-
stantino-
ple.

March of
the rebels
to Adria-
nople.

The iman of the Porte arrived soon in the name of the grand seignior, to ask the rebels what it was that had induced them to take up arms, and what they reproached the officers of the empire with, whom they refused to acknowledge any longer. This proof of their master's weakness increased their audacity; they carried their insolence so far as to abuse and beat this effendi who appeared before them in the name of their emperor, so much so, that he was obliged to flee to save his life. The grand vizier Dorojan bashaw proposed to the soldiers to go themselves to the emperor with the explanations which he had sent to demand of them, having no doubt of the consideration which an army of fifty thousand men, well paid and disciplined, would obtain with a prince, who had chosen rather to sacrifice the finest provinces of the empire, than continue a just war: this proposal was received with acclamations. The mufti of the rebels published a fetfa which authorised *the saviours of the empire* (that was the name which he gave the rebels) to march to Adrianople to complete their work; and he placed himself at their head. They marched with

with such celerity, that Mustapha learned almost J.C. 1702.
Heg. 1114.

at the same time that his envoy had been insulted

and that the rebels were advancing. On their

arrival at Hapsa, a small town a little way from

Adrianople, they pitched their camp, and dis-

patched their caimacan to Mustapha, with orders

to say to him verbally, or to write to him, in

case he could not be admitted to his presence:

" The fifty thousand avengers of the Ottoman

" name, encamped near Adrianople, are not

" come with intention to fight Mussulmen. We

" demand to have delivered to us, not the blood

" of the innocent, but of those traitors who have

" sold to the enemy the finest provinces of the

" empire, and we will make them feel the weight

" of their crime. People may call our proceed-

" ing a rebellion if they please; it is true that

" we have determined to chastise the bad mini-

" sters, who are so many public enemies, but we

" will not swerve from the bounds of respect due

" to his highness, unless he have recourse to the

" sword in an affair where only an examination

" is intended. If we are opposed, we will repel

" force by force; and, in that case, we will not

" be answerable for the blood that shall be spilt."

The caimacan went to the gates of Adrianople;

but not being admitted, as he had foreseen, he

wrote this declaration to be conveyed to the

grand seignior; he wrote likewise to the inhabi-

tants of Adrianople: " We are your brethren;

" you should look on us with the same eyes as

VOL. IV.

N

" we

They send
deputies in
vain to the
grand
seignior.

J.C. 1702. " we do on you. We flatter ourselves that, far
 Heg. 1114. " from thinking of fighting us, you will assist us
 " in restoring to the law of the Alcoran all its
 " wonted force against traitors and the tyrants
 " of the Ottoman nation." On the reading of
 the manifesto, Mustapha gave orders for marching
 against the rebels, who must inevitably fail,
 he said, in fighting in such a bad cause. He
 assembled the chiefs in the divan ; and, after having
 represented to them their duty with a pa-
 thetic tone, desired that they would take a new
 oath, which was, that they would shed their
 blood in the defence of their master. After this,
 the grand vizier Rami put himself at the head of
 what soldiers there were in Adrianople, and the
 citizens who would embrace the cause of Mus-
 tapha : all these troops together did not amount
 to fifteen thousand men.

The mufti Fezula thought to supply the want
 of number by opposing a fetfa to that of the
 rebel mufti ; but his old age and the faults of his
 administration had lost him all his credit. As
 soon as the rebels perceived at a distance the
 troops coming out of Adrianople, they got under
 arms and advanced in order of battle. Kiasibi

It is dis-
 persed by
 the elo-
 quence and
 authority
 of the
 mufti.
 Mehemet effendi, their mufti, ordered, that all
 acts of hostility should be suspended, with that
 authority which the ministers of the Mussulman
 religion know how to assume over a credulous
 people. He advanced at the head of his ef-
 fendis, who carried in evidence the Alcoran,
 and

The army
 of this
 prince
 marches
 against the
 rebels.

and invited those whom he saw armed, in the name of the God who had dictated this immortal book and of the prophet who had written it, to come and listen to words of peace and be reconciled to their countrymen and brethren. The Orientals, all barbarians as they are thought to be, are more sensible than other men of the charms of eloquence. The manner in which the musti appeared commanded respect, and soon drew around him a crowd of soldiers, who, having heard him with great attention, passed over into his army ; others returned to their comrades to invite them to go over with them to the side of the saviours of the country. The grand vizier Rami bashaw, who saw this desertion, made his escape before it became general ; and, without appearing again before Mustapha, disguised himself in order to save his head with more certainty from the fury of his enemies. The rebels marched close up to the walls of Adrianople ; they sent deputies again to the grand seignior, but without asking, as they had done at first, the favor of being admitted to his presence : Caracach Mehemet, the officer of the jebeggis, who had been the first instigator of the insurrection, and Ferrari bashaw, the caimacan, appeared with four hundred spahis at the gates of the town, which were opened to them without the least resistance. They proceeded to the seraglio, and ordered the trembling boftangis to introduce them into the grand seignior's chamber. It was of no use for

J.C. 1702. Heg. 1114. Mustapha to call up all his remaining resolution to endeavour to make himself obeyed; it was in vain for him to think of avoiding this visit; the two deputies who had spread terror over the seraglio reached the room where his highness was. They ordered, rather than asked him, in the name of the army, to deliver that instant into their hands the grand vizier Rami bashaw, the mufti Fezula, and Mauro Cordato. The first and last had taken to flight; but the old mufti, full of confidence in the veneration which he fancied all the Mussulmen had for his dignity, always expected that they would obey the sovereign interpreter of the law. Without doubt he would have been right, if the rebels had not had the address to oppose law to law, and had not chosen from among them a mufti more eloquent and sensible than the emperor's, and who knew how to manage the people. The rebels, without reflecting on the legality of the appointment, considered Fezula as degraded by his prevarications and by the declaration which the mufti Kiasibi had made with pomp in the name of all the ulema. The unfortunate old man, abandoned by his pupil, was dragged to the camp, where he was put to the most cruel tortures to make him discover his riches and in what place he had hidden them. He replied to their interrogations, only by imprecations against those who durst lay violent hands on the vicar of Mahomet. The rebels, after having exhausted their rage

The grand seignior gives up the old mufti, who is put to death.

rage against Fezula, gave him the death stroke ^{J.C. 1702.}
Heg. 1114. and threw his body into the river, denying him even the honors of interment. This barbarous execution increased the terror of Mustapha ; thinking that he should appease the people by shewing them all his weakness, he sent to the vizier Dorojan to confirm him in that dignity, and to carry him the seals of the empire. The same deputies were charged with a catcherif which confirmed likewise the mufti of the rebels, and they were ordered to say to those who bore offices among them, that the most magnificent and invincible emperor acknowledged them for officers of the Porte and took them under his powerful protection. The terror was so great in the court of Mustapha, that those whom he ordered to carry these promises of peace, remembering the reception of their master's first envoy, had much difficulty to prevail with themselves to discharge their mission. The more the rebels saw the sultan give way, the more they became untractable. The meannesses to which this prince descended to save his sceptre were precisely what caused it to fall from his hands.

The emperor had only children very young. His brother Achmet, the lawful heir to the throne, was guarded in the seraglio of Adrianople ; for the heirs to the empire had for a long time past been carried about with the emperor. The mufti, the grand vizier, and Caracach Mehemet, wrote to prince Achmet, that Mustapha having

The grand
seignior
acknow-
ledges the
officers of
the rebels.

J.C. 1702. having rendered himself unworthy to reign, all
 Heg. 1114. the rebels write to prince Achmet to invite him to ascend the throne. The letter is intercepted and carried to Mustapha. the hopes of the good Mussulmen centred in him; that he was the only one of his family in a situation to govern and avenge the Turks; that it was the general wish that he should be placed on the throne; and that he must yield to circumstances and the cry of the nation. As this letter was sent openly, it could not fail of being intercepted. It is supposed that the rebels had expected it; that an ancient respect for the seraglio and the blood of their master having prevented them from forcing this venerated place to signify to Mustapha his deposition, they thought that the feeble emperor, being destitute of the means to maintain himself on the throne, would descend from it himself, and spare them the crime of attempting his life or liberty. If this were their expectation, they were not deceived. Mustapha had no sooner

He goes to Achmet and resigns the sceptre to him. read the letter addressed to his brother, than he ran to his apartment to carry it him, and, after an affectionate embrace, he said to him: "Since " Heaven will have it so, mount in my place " on the throne of our ancestors; remember, " that, whilst I was your master, I treated " you kindly; you are going to be the lawful " sovereign, since I resign all my right to you. " But don't forget that your elevation is the " work of some rebels, who will soon treat " you in the same manner, if you leave their " crime unpunished." After these words, he begged

begged his brother to repair to the divan chamber, and remained himself in the apartment which that prince quitted. Thus was terminated, the 24th of August, this revolution, which had lasted since the month of May. Mustapha descended from the throne, aged forty years, after having reigned seven. The beginning of his reign had given great hopes; but in a little time he appeared very different from himself. The blind confidence which he devoted to the mufti Fezula enervated his faculties, destroyed his understanding, and made a feeble, timid monarch of a prince who had at first appeared sage and magnanimous. Mustapha died of a dropsey the year after his deposition.

A C H M E T III.

TWENTY-THIRD REIGN.

A CHMET found, as he came out of his apartment, or rather prison, all the officers of the seraglio who had conducted his brother thither. He repaired to the throne chamber with his retinue, and dictated a catcherif which ordered the grand vizier, the mufti, and all the officers of the ulema, the divan, and the army, to come and pay their compliments to him. Achmet had preserved in his heart the last words

Achmet
III. af-
cends the
throne.

of

J.C. 1702. Heg. 1114. of Mustapha. However, he received with affability, even with marks of favor, those to whom he owed his elevation. He carried his condescendency so far as to banish at their request the valid sultaness, who was his mother as well as Mustapha's, because that sultaness had favored the last mufti Fezula. Achmet made considerable presents to the army; and as he knew that the soldiery and the people of Constantinople had reproached Mustapha with his residence at Adrianople, he resolved to return to the capital the second week of his reign. He girded on the sword of Othman in Jub mosque with all the customary ceremonies and pomp.

Achmet was thirty-six years old when he came to the throne. Owing to the attention of the valid sultaness, whom he had just banished, and the humanity of his predecessor, his prison had not been so strait but that he had found means to acquire a good deal of knowledge. He had read every thing that could be read in the Turkish language, and had had the society of some white eunuchs, and even of some effendis, who had entertained him often with an account of the last troubles and the facts most known of the Ottoman history. It was without doubt in these conversations that he acquired the first notions of policy, and learned to dissemble with those whom he meant to punish. Achmet had formed a close intimacy with the seli<tar aga, called Assan. As soon as he found himself on the throne, he made this favorite

Achmet
feigns af-
fability at
the com-
mencement
of his reign.

bashaw

bashaw of the bench, and gave him one of his ^{J.C. 1702.}
Heg. 1114. sisters in marriage. When several months had consolidated his power, he consulted with his brother-in-law on the means to punish the conspirators, in order to take from the great officers of the Porte in future the temptation of deposing their sovereign.

He first, under different pretexts, dispersed all ^{J.C. 1703.}
Heg. 1115. the odas of janissaries and spahis. Caracach Mehemet, that officer of the jebeggis who had been the soul of the conspiracy, without having ever consented to be invested with any of the principal charges, for fear of being sacrificed in the end, was the dupe of his own policy, for he was the first that was punished. Achmet, in order to take from him all mistrust and to flatter him in his own way, had made him bashaw of one-tail, or sangiac, promising to advance him by degrees. He was sent to the cherif of Mecca with the caftan and sword, which every new sultan always sends, on his accession, to this phantom of a tributary prince. Caracach Mehemet on his return was secretly strangled in Aleppo. The day after the receipt of the news of this execution, the aga of the janissaries was sent for to the seraglio to be appointed, as they said, captain bashaw. Mezzomorto was lately dead. The aga of the janissaries disappeared, without any one's knowing, for several weeks, what was become of him. It was at length rumoured, that he had been thrown into the sea by night. A little after,

He deposes
the vizier
and the
mufti, and
proscribes
those who
put him
on the
throne.

J.C. 1703. grand vizier Dorojan lost his place: Achmet was
Heg. 1115. willing to leave him his life, as he had not been
the author of the sedition, and could be reproached
only with having yielded to the torrent. Doro-
jan was banished to Lepanto with a pension of
Affan, the new vizier, is the au-
thor of these proscriptions. three hundred aspers a day. Affan received the
seals of the empire from the hands of the de-
posed grand vizier. This new prime minister
shed the blood of the conspirators, without taking
any other precaution than to have all the exe-
cutions made in the towns where he had dispersed
them. Affan advised the grand seignior to de-
pose the mufti, and he told this chief of the law,
that after the example which the conspirators had
given of the mufti Fezula, he, the new mufti,
who had so little pretension to that dignity, should
bless the clemency of the monarch, who was
pleased to leave him his life.

The news of these repeated executions, most
of which were made by surprise, filled all those
with terror who were conscious of being guilty,
and even those who were not so. However, as
none of the soldiers who then composed the gar-
rison of Constantinople had been concerned in
the conspiracy, they had no thoughts of pre-
serving themselves from a danger which did not
threaten them. The soldiers who had been di-
stributed in the other towns found themselves in
too small a number for it to be possible for them
to form another conspiracy. The number of the
proscribed has been estimated at fourteen thou-
sand.

sand. For six months there appeared lists of soldiers and officers strangled or thrown into the sea. J.C. 1703.
leg. 1115.

This sanguinary vizier would at length have excited by so many cruelties the insurrection which he was desirous of quelling, if a domestic quarrel had not soon removed him from the head of administration. We have said that he was brother-in-law to the sultan, and it has been observed in the course of this history that the princesses of the Ottoman blood, more happy than the other Mahometan women, enjoy in their houses a liberty and even an authority, which they sometimes abuse. Aiesa, the only wife of the grand vizier, as the husband of the princesses are not permitted, like other Mussulmen, to have a plurality of wives, took a liking to her spouse's kiaia, whom some pressing affairs drew to the prime minister's palace. The princess, who had seen him by chance in Assan's apartment, enticed him into the women's quarter, contrary to the law of the Alcoran and the manners of the Turks, who think that a woman cannot without a crime let her face be seen by any other man than her husband, and that two persons of different sexes cannot be innocently alone together for a moment. Any other Mahometan woman than a princess would have been liable to a rigorous chastisement on the suspicion of the least of these crimes; but the husband of Aiesa had no coercive authority over his wife. The little poniard set with diamonds which she wore at her girdle was her

On what
occasion
the grand
vizier Af-
fan is de-
posed and
sent ba-
ck to
Grand
Cairo.

J.C. 1703. safeguard. As this restraint rendered the husband's jealousy more cruel, he satisfied his vengeance on the man whom he believed the cause of his dishonor. The unfortunate kiaia was seized as he came out of Aiesa's apartment, and the grand vizier had him strangled immediately, without dissembling the cause of his punishment. The princess, who had a great deal of influence over the sultan her brother, ran immediately to the seraglio, and complained bitterly of the unjust death of the kiaia, and the disgrace which it threw on her. Her complaints were not without effect; and her husband, though such a favorite with the grand seignior, was stripped of the viziership and sent bashaw to Grand Cairo. The princess was too much enraged to follow Assan into that province; she remained in her palace at Constantinople free from restraint.

Achmet III. gave the seals of the empire to a bashaw of the bench, called Caia Lili, who had been some time caimacan of Constantinople in the absence of the court, and whose administration the emperor had heard praised by several persons in the excursions which he often made through the streets of Constantinople, disguised sometimes like a janissary, sometimes a levanti, and at other times an effendi of the lowest order. This Caia

His successor, who hates the Christians, attempts to insult the French ambassador.

Lili hated the Christians greatly when he was caimacan; he had endeavoured to oblige them to wear only clothes of a coarse stuff with a particular mark, and had severely fined those who had

had dared infringe this hard law. This was considered as a great merit by the devout Mussulmen, and, to say the truth, was the only one of the new grand vizier. His incapacity in the first place of the empire was glaring to a degree; and he enjoyed it only three months. During this short administration he had a difference with Mr. Deferiolles, the French ambassador, in which Caia Lili manifested his hatred against the Christians, and the French minister courageously supported the dignity of his character and the honor of his nation.

Mr. Deferiolles, having received news of the birth of the duke of Brittany, the eldest son of the duke of Burgundy, a child that lived about two years, thought he ought to celebrate this event with magnificence. He invited all the French of any consideration at Pera, and the ambassadors of the different powers, to a sumptuous entertainment which lasted a day and a night. In the evening, all the courts of the French palace being illuminated, the light was seen at a distance. The novelty drew a great many to look at it. The grand vizier, either to mortify the French, or that he was afraid of a fire, sent a capiggi pachi to tell Mr. Deferiolles to put out his illumination. The ambassador answered, that he was celebrating the birth of the presumptive heir to the crown of France, and that in consequence he could not too much manifest his joy; that as to the rest, he had no orders to receive

but

J.C. 1703.
Heg. 1115. but from the king his master, and that he was astonished the minister of another power should pretend to send him any. On this refusal, there was a fresh message from the grand vizier, which had the same answer from Mr. Deferiolles. At last Caia Lili sent the capiggi pachi with several of his men to repeat his orders. The capiggi pachi was ordered to declare to Mr. Deferiolles, that, if he did not obey immediately, the janissaries should enter the French palace to extinguish the illumination by force. The capiggi pachi was greatly embarrassed with this commission; however, he resolved to execute it with all the discretion which the circumstances would admit of. This menace, already softened by the officer who carried it, was still more so by the druggerman who rendered it to the ambassador in his native tongue. However, Mr. Deferiolles comprehended the sort of danger which he ran, and taking his measures immediately, he said to the capiggi pachi and those who accompanied him: " You are welcome, you shall join in our joy; " " I will conduct you every where myself, and " you shall soon be convinced that the alarms of " the grand vizier are without foundation. An " illumination cannot set a stone edifice on fire, " and my palace is at a distance from all the " wooden houses of the suburbs." The ambassador immediately ordered the great door to be shut, and that all the Frenchmen should take their arms, as they had done in the morning at the

the singing of *Te Deum*, in order, as he said, to J.C. 1703.
Heg. 1115. shew the capiggis how graceful his countrymen were under arms, and how well they knew the use of them. Mr. Deferiolles then returned to the foreign ambassadors, and told them, that he had asked their company to honor his nation by partaking of his joy; but that it was neither seemly nor just to make them share the dangers which this circumstance might occasion, and that therefore he earnestly intreated their excellencies to withdraw by a back door which he would have opened to them. As these ministers seemed unwilling to retire and leave him in this dilemma, the French ambassador observed, that it was he alone who had to support the honor of his character; that they might be blamed if they risked theirs, the quarrel absolutely concerning only the French, and the other nations having no part in the insult. On this, the foreign ministers took their leave. When they were gone, Mr. Deferiolles made those who were under arms, to the number of more than five hundred, perform some military evolutions, and particularly to fire several volleys, which were very distinctly heard out of the palace. He caused a table to be prepared for the capiggis, and had plenty of refreshments served up to them. Nevertheless the illumination still continued. The capigli pachi and his men vainly endeavoured to retire; but the ambassador, under pretence of being very earnest to do them the honors of his enter-

J.C. 1703.
Heg. 1115. entertainment, declared, that they should not leave his palace 'till day-light, when the sun should eclipse the illumination; that then he would beg the capigli pachi to go and assure the grand vizier that there had not been the least danger of fire. The whole night was passed in expectation of a catastrophe that never happened. The grand vizier, who was unwilling without doubt to expose the officers whom he had imprudently sent into the palace, and who moreover respected Lewis XIV. and the firmness of his ambassador, dissembled: and Mr. Deferiolles, who had at first threatened to complain to his court of the behaviour of the prime minister, gave a faithful account of his conduct in this delicate affair.

The grand
vizier is
deposed.

If the French had expected some satisfaction for this infraction of the law of nations, Achmet III. would have scarcely left them the time to demand it; for the grand vizier was deposed a few days after the entertainment given by the ambassador. This man, whom the favor of the people had raised to the highest dignity in the empire, was deposed at the end of three months by the general clamour. The faults which he was continually committing had put Constantinople into confusion. The prompt justice which is rendered to individuals in the divan, no longer consisted but in arbitrary decisions founded in caprice, and not in equity. Caia Lili was deprived of the seals and sent into exile in an island

of

of the Archipelago. In the first year of the reign J.C. 1703.
Heg. 1115. of Achmet, we have seen a vizier deposed by a love intrigue. A violent passion, in which he was thwarted, was the cause of his choosing the third, who did not seem formed for governing. It is necessary to take the circumstances of this affair a little higher. About the middle of the reign of Mustapha II. Achmet, who enjoyed in the seraglio more liberty than the brothers of the reigning emperor had ever had before, saw with the valid sultaness, who was his mother as well as Mustapha's, a young slave whose elegant form and pleasing voice charmed him. He soon grew violently in love with her, and had no great difficulty to get those charming features unveiled which he already adored without having seen. In a place where the women are so strictly watched, and where the conduct of the princes is so minutely observed, the intrigue of Achmet and the young slave could not fail of being soon discovered. As soon as the valid sultaness was informed of it, she was very uneasy for the consequences. Nothing less than both their lives was at stake. For much smaller faults girls of the seraglio had been thrown into the sea inclosed in leather sacks; and since the Ottoman emperors kept their brothers and children in the seraglio, they had never let them come near women capable of having children. Curdisca (that was the name of the valid sultaness) had an affection for the two culprits. She was well con-

Reasons
for ap-
pointing
Mehemet
his succe-
for.

J.C. 1703. ^{Heg. 1115.} vinced that there was not an instant to be lost to separate them. The same day the young slave, called Sarai, was married to the son of the first physician, and the valid sultaness gave her a considerable portion. This intelligence drove prince Achmet to despair; he sent for the first physician, and severely menaced him if his son should ever dare consider Sarai as his wife. The anger of a prince of the blood royal is not of any very great consequence in the Ottoman empire; but the provident physician, who knew how much all the Orders of the empire were already dissatisfied with the mufti Fezula and the weakness of Mustapha II. foresaw that a revolution was not very distant, and that the prince, who for the moment was the least to be feared of all mankind, would be soon perhaps the most terrible enemy that a man could have. He advised his son to receive with honor the wife that he could not refuse without exposing himself to a present disgrace, but to treat her always as his sister. Achmet, as we have seen, became emperor some years after. His first attention was to get himself confirmed on the throne. We have said that he was obliged to banish the valid sultaness; but when he thought he had secured his power by the execution of those who had procured it him, he recalled his mother, and sent in search of the young slave, whom he still loved. Nuhé ef-fendi, her husband, had removed from Constantinople with her, in hopes that the cares of the

throne,

throne, and the multitude of beauties in the haram, would divert the sultan from a passion which constraint had kindled. But as soon as he learned that he was looking for her, Nuhé effendi hastened to bring him his spouse, protesting to his highness that he had preserved her as a precious trust, which he had not considered himself at liberty to touch. Achmet, transported with joy, rewarded the complaisant effendi, and afterward made him cadilesker. He begged him to take care of Sarai some days longer, whom he meant to make a sultaness ; but it was necessary to obtain the consent of the valid sultaness, as the mother of the emperor has the superintendency of the haram, and one of those ancient laws which are not written, but which an old custom causes to be respected, will not allow a woman of the seraglio ever to re-enter there when she has once left it. Curdisca strongly opposed the desire of her son ; because, she said, the assakys, designed to give princes to the Ottoman empire, should never have been known but by the emperor ; and the living before with another man, however innocent she might be, would cause a great scandal among the Mussulmen. The monarch, all amorous and despotic as he was, respected the obstacle which his mother continually threw in his way. He found, among the officers of the seraglio, a man as complaisant as Nuhé effendi had been. The baltagi pachi Mehemet was very willing to pass for the

^{J.C. 1703. Heg. 1115.} husband of Sarai, and guard her faithfully for his master. This service got him the rank of bashaw of the bench, and as soon as Caia Lili had given up the seals, Sarai obtained them for her reputed spouse.

^{J.C. 1704. Heg. 1116.} People then saw a spectacle very new in the Ottoman empire, a sultan who neglected his haram to go disguised in search of his mistress in another man's house, and who no longer held his councils in the divan, but in the apartment of the grand vizier's wives, where that minister received the orders of his master and of her who passed for his wife. The power of Sarai was such, that the valid sultaness was constrained to bend the knee before this idol, and to seek the protection of her whom she had kept from the rank of assaky. There was no doubt that she would have been admitted into the haram with the consent of the valid sultaness when her ascendancy over the monarch was well established, if this haughty woman had not been more flattered to see her master renounce the pleasures of his court to come and adore her at her own house, and preferred giving law daily to the minister, who passed for her husband, to living in solitude and captivity in the haram, waiting for the favors of the sultan. Sarai decided so imperiously on the most important affairs, that the grand vizier Mehemet, who was raised to that dignity solely to obey her, was obliged to make use of artifice to prevent the mischief which an imprudent young woman,

Great power of Sarai, the wife of the grand vizier.

woman, without talents for business, or the least J.C. 1704.
experience, could not fail of committing. Heg. 1116.

The mufti and the kislar aga, with the approbation of the valid sultaness, had obtained Sarai's consent that a tax of three per cent. should be laid on all foreign merchandise, and be paid into the treasury of the mosques, besides the excise paid to the public treasury, and which had been considerably increased in the preceding reign. This new imposition, made without any necessity, and in which the advisers of the measure found means to satisfy their avidity, might do great injury to the public good, by preventing the merchants from causing woollen cloths, linens, and a great quantity of other merchandise not manufactured in the Turkish empire, to be brought thither. It was in vain that the grand vizier represented the injury which this new impost would do to commerce; he was obliged to seal the catcherif which imposed it. Mehemet plotted with the foreigners to serve his master against his will. The French, English, Venetian, and Dutch ambassadors, declared, they would put a stop to the bringing of such merchandise or commodities as were to be subjected to this exorbitant duty, contrary to treaty, and which both humbled and impoverished their nations. The vizier carried the sultan a memorial from the four ambassadors, which he had himself solicited, and he authorised them under-hand to stop their commerce. This proceeding cheated the avidity of the kislar aga. The valid sultaness

How this
project
is over-
turned.

and

J.C. 1704. and the grand vizier's reputed wife were as incapable of removing this obstacle as they had been of foreseeing it and of perceiving the defects of their project. The catchetif was revoked. This did not increase Sarai's confidence in her husband, whom she looked upon as her upper servant, and on whom she avenged every day all the Turkish women, slaves and prisoners of their husbands.

Trouble
and perplexity of
Achmet.

During the first years of the reign of Achmet, he was in continual fear of being deposed. The examples of Mustapha his brother, and of Mahomet IV. his father, were always present in his imagination. Though the profound peace which the Ottoman empire enjoyed rendered it no way difficult to govern, and the body of the nation, fatigued with the violent shocks which it had experienced, seemed to relish a necessary repose, the sultan could not see some soldiers and effendis assembled, without supposing plots or conspiracies. All the blood which he had spilt to punish the deposition of his brother, and to secure the sceptre in his own hands, could not remove his fears for the future. In fine, Achmet experienced on his throne that fear and perplexity which are the lot of tyrants. He renewed the ordinance that forbade the soldiers, or even the citizens, to walk more than four together in the streets. The offenders were liable to a severe bastinade: some even were put to death on slight suspicions. The emperor, always full of frightful ideas, sent one day

day for the mufti and some of the mollacs of most ^{J.C. 1704.}
^{Heg. 1116.} reputation, to ask of them the interpretation of —
 a dream. He said that he had seen his palace all
 in flames; and as he was making vain efforts to
 extinguish this terrible fire, and was himself on
 the point of becoming a prey to it, he awoke
 with terror. “Great prince,” replied the
 mufti to him, “calm the uneasiness with which
 “you are agitated; give over shedding blood
 “and terrifying yourself, and then you will have
 “less frightful dreams.”

Meanwhile all Europe was envying Turkey ^{J.C. 1705.}
^{to 1708.} the peace which it enjoyed. The king of Swe- ^{Heg. 1117,}
^{to 1120.} den, Charles XII. had just wrested the sceptre
 of Poland from the hands of king Augustus,
 elector of Saxony, to give it to Stanislaus Lec-
 zinski. He menaced Peter the Great, the pro-
 tector of king Augustus. On the other side, the
 succession of Spain had armed the house of Aus-
 tria against that of France. England and Holland
 had joined the Austrians; and France, which the
 year 1705 was fatal to, wanted to raise up a pow-
 erful diversion against enemies whom this confe-
 deracy rendered very formidable. Count Tekli
 was lately dead. Though he had turned Roman
 catholic to please Lewis XIV. there was reason to
 doubt the sincerity of his conversion, as he had
 ordered in his will that he should be interred in
 a Lutheran temple. Prince Ragotski, an Hun-
 garian lord, who had married the only daughter
 of count Tekli, became the inheritor of his pre-
 tensions,

He abso-
 lutely
 refuses
 to declare
 war against
 the western
 empire,
 and deposes
 the khan
 of the
 Tartars.

J.C. 1705, tensions, his dangers, and the protection of France.
to 1708.

Heg. 1117, A considerable party having called him into
to 1120.

Transsylvania to repress the tyranny of the imperial commissioners, he found there men at his service and money, and he took the title of prince of Transylvania. The French ambassador vainly negotiated with the Porte to obtain the investiture of Transylvania for this new sovereign, and permission for him to send a minister to Constantinople. Whatever interest Achmet might have to stir up enemies against the Austrian monarch, he would not consent to any step that might break the peace which he thought so necessary for his empire; so much so, that the khan of the Tartars having earnestly desired permission to declare war against the Russians at the time when the king of Sweden had just beaten them, the grand seignior thought it right to depose that prince, and to give the throne of Crimea to his brother, who was more docile and pacific.

Mehemet
is deposed. The grand vizier, the husband of the favorite, was deposed after sixteen months ministry, without the cause of his deposition being ever well known. He was made governor of Aleppo. For several years there is nothing in the Ottoman annals worthy of being remarked. The monarch, too much given to women and pleasures, made an ill use of the leisure and abundance which a long peace procured him. Chourlouli Ali bashaw, who succeeded Mehemet, married one of his master's daughters, and assumed over him the influence

influence which an able minister cannot fail of J.C. 1705,
 obtaining over an indolent, voluptuous monarch. to 1708.
 He was no more desirous of war than Achmet, ^{Heg. 1117.}
 and constantly resisted the importunities of the to 1120.
 French ambassador, who, under different pre-
 tences, was always endeavouring to arm the Porte
 against the emperor Joseph I. successor to his fa-
 ther Leopold. It was during the ministry of
 Chourlouli that the Ottoman empire sheltered
 two European sovereigns, Charles XII. king of
 Sweden, and Stanislaus I. whom the former had
 placed on the throne of Poland.

By one of those fatal blows that have sometimes J.C. 1709.
 beaten down the greatest conquerors, the king of ^{Heg. 1121.}
 Sweden, after having dethroned Augustus, king
 of Poland and elector of Saxony, after having
 driven back the Russians into their own country,
 and replied to Peter the Great, who humbly asked
 for peace, that he would treat with him at Mos-
 cow, was himself beaten near Pultoway, a town
 situated near the eastern extremity of the Ukraine.
 His army had been ruined by the rigorous win-
 ter of 1709. This prince had been grievously
 wounded in the heel some days before the battle,
 which he would give contrary to the advice of
 his generals. He commanded at this action, car-
 ried on a litter, as his wound would not then
 permit him to mount on horseback; but necessity
 at length constrained him to it, when all his ge-
 neral officers were killed or taken prisoners, and
 what remained of his army had been put to flight.

J.C. 1709. Heg. 1121. Twenty-one soldiers had been killed successively, carrying the litter of Charles XII. The enemy pressed so hard, that he was very near being made prisoner, and the horse, on which he was placed with great difficulty, was killed under him. An officer, who was wounded, and spent with loss of blood, gave him his.* Thus, in the course of the flight, they put this conqueror on horseback twice, though he had not been able to mount a horse during the battle. This astonishing retreat was of great consequence in such distressful circumstances; but he was obliged to flee to a still greater distance. They found among the baggage the coach of count Piper, the king's minister; for Charles XII. had never used one since he left Stockholm. They put him into this vehicle, and fled towards the Boristhenes with great precipitation. The king, who had not said a single word, from the time he had been set on horseback, to his arrival at the baggage, at length asked what was become of count Piper. They told him that he was taken, with all the officers of the chancery. And general Renchild and the duke

* Being obliged to relate all the extraordinary events that happened during the residence of Charles XII. among the Turks, I have consulted the work of Mr. Voltaire on that subject. The reading of this piece of history with reflection has convinced me, that it would be impossible for me to offer anything to the public so agreeable or instructive. I am determined then to copy Mr. Voltaire faithfully, only retrenching from his narration what is foreign to the Turks. If any one accuse me of plagiarism, I shall answer, that it is none when acknowledged; that moreover I am Mr. Voltaire's nephew and heir, and that he has accustomed me to partake of his property in his life time.

duke of Wurtemburg, added he? They are like-
wise prisoners, answered Poniatowski. Prisoners
to the Russians, replied Charles, shrugging up
his shoulders! Come then, let us go rather to
the Turks. They could not perceive however
the least mark of dejection in his countenance;
and whoever had seen him at that time, without
knowing his situation, would never have supposed
him vanquished and wounded.

J.C. 1709.
Heg. 1121.

The king
of Sweden
flees to the
Turks.

Whilst he was getting off, the Russians seized
his artillery in the camp before Pultoway, his
baggage, and his military chest, in which they
found two hundred and fifty thousand pounds
sterling in specie, the spoils of the Poles and
Saxons. Near nine thousand men, partly Swedes
and partly Cossacks, were killed in the battle, and
about six thousand taken prisoners. There still
remained about sixteen thousand men, Swedes,
Poles, and Cossacks, who fled towards the Boris-
thenes, under the conduct of general Levenhaupt.
He marched one way with these fugitive troops;
and the king took another road with some of his
horse. The coach, in which he was, broke down
by the way, and they again set him on horseback.
To complete his misfortune, he wandered all night
in a wood: there, his courage being no longer
able to support his exhausted spirits, the anguish
of his wound becoming more insupportable through
fatigue, and his horse falling under him through
excessive weariness, he lay some hours at the foot
of a tree, in danger of being surprised every

J.C. 1709. Heg. 1121. moment by the vanquishers, who were searching
for him on all sides. At length, on the 9th or
10th of July, at night, he found himself on the
bank of the Boristhenes, which he crossed in a
bark with general Mazeppa.

' This Swedish army, which marched out of Saxony in such a triumphant manner, was now no more. One half of them had perished with hunger, and the rest were enslaved or massacred. Charles XII. had lost in one day the fruit of nine years labour, and of almost a hundred battles. He made his escape in a miserable chariot, having major-general Hord by his side dangerously wounded. The rest of his little troop followed, some on foot, others on horseback, and others in carts, through a desert where neither huts, tents, animals, nor roads were to be seen. Every thing was wanting, even water. It was now the beginning of July; the country lay in the forty-seventh degree of latitude; the dry sand of the desert rendered the heat of the sun the more insupportable; the horses fell down by the way, and the men were ready to die with thirst. A brook of muddy water, which they found towards evening, was all they met with; they filled some bottles with this water, which saved the lives of the king of Sweden's little troop. After a march of five days, he arrived on the banks of the river Hypanis, now called the Bogh by the Barbarians, who have disfigured even the very names of those countries, which once flourished so nobly in the possession

possession of the Greek colonies. This river joins J.C. 1709.
Heg. 1121. the Boristhenes some miles lower, and falls along  with it into the Black Sea.

On the other side of the Bogh, towards the Charles at
Bender. south, stands the little town of Oczacow, a frontier of the Turkish empire. The inhabitants, seeing a body of soldiers coming towards them, refused to carry them over to Oczacow, without an order from Mehemet bashaw, governor of the town. The king sent an express to this governor, demanding a passage; but the Turk, not knowing what to do, in a country where one false step often costs a man his life, durst not venture to take any thing upon himself, without having first obtained permission of the seraskier of the province, who resided at Bender in Bessarabia. Whilst they were waiting for this permission, the Russians, who had made the king's army prisoners, had passed the Boristhenes, and were approaching to take the monarch himself. At last, the bashaw of Oczacow sent word to the king, that he would furnish him with one small bark, to transport himself and two or three of his retinue. In this extremity the Swedes took by force what they could not obtain by gentle means: some of them went to the further side in a skiff, seized on some boats, and brought them to the hither side of the river. This saved them; for the masters of the Turkish barks, fearing they should lose such a favorable occasion of getting a good freight, came in crowds to offer their service. At that very instant arrived

J.C. 1709. Heg. 1121. arrived the favorable answer of the seraskier of Bender; and the king had the mortification to see five hundred of his men seized by the enemy, whose insulting bravadoes he even heard. The bashaw of Oczacow, by means of an interpreter, asked his pardon for the delays which had occasioned the capture of these five hundred men, and humbly intreated him not to complain of it to the grand seignior. Charles promised him that he would not; but at the same time gave him a severe reprimand, as if he had been speaking to one of his own subjects. The seraskier of the province sent forthwith an aga to compliment the king, and to offer him a magnificent tent, with provisions, baggage, waggons, and all the conveniences, officers, and attendants, necessary to conduct him to Bender in a splendid manner; for it is the custom of the Turks, not only to defray the expences of ambassadors to the place of their residence, but likewise to supply, with great liberality, the necessities of those princes who take refuge among them during the time of their stay.

The king of Sweden wrote to Achmet III. as soon as he arrived in his territories. The letter is dated the 13th of July 1709. Several copies of it were spread abroad, all of which are now looked upon as spurious; but of all those I have seen, there is not one but what sufficiently marks the natural haughtiness of the author, and is more suitable to his courage than his situation. The sultan did not return an answer till towards the end

of

of September. The pride of the Ottoman Porte <sup>J.C. 1709.
Heg. 1121.</sup> made Charles XII. sensible what a mighty difference there was between a Turkish emperor, and a king of part of Scandanavia, a vanquished and fugitive Christian. For the rest, all these letters, which kings very rarely write themselves, are but vain formalities, which neither serve to discover the characters of sovereigns, nor the state of their affairs.

Though Charles XII. was in reality no better <sup>Intrigues
of the
seraglio.</sup> than a prisoner honorably treated in Turkey, he yet conceived the design of arming the Ottoman empire against his enemies. He flattered himself that he should be able to reduce Poland, and subdue Russia. He had an envoy at Constantinople; but the person that served him most effectually in his vast projects was count Poniatowski, who went to Constantinople without a commission, and soon made himself necessary to the king, agreeable to the Porte, and at last dangerous even to the grand viziers.*

One of those who seconded his designs with the greatest activity was the physician Fonseca, a Portuguese Jew, settled at Constantinople, a man of knowledge and address, well qualified for the management of business, and perhaps the only philosopher of his nation. His profession procured him a free access to the Ottoman Porte, and often gained him the confidence of the viziers.

I knew

* It was from this nobleman I received, not only the remarks that have been printed, and which the chaplain Norberg has made use of, but likewise several manuscripts concerning this history. VOLTAIRE.

J.C. 1709. I knew him very well at Paris, and he confirmed to
 Heg. 1121. me all the particulars I am going to relate. Count Poniatowski has informed me, both by letters and personally, that he had the address to convey letters to the valid sultaness, the mother of the reigning emperor, who had formerly been ill used by her son, but now began to recover her influence in the seraglio. A Jewess, who was often admitted to this princess, was unceasingly relating to her the exploits of the king of Sweden, and charmed her ear by these recitals. The sultaness, moved by that secret inclination with which most women feel themselves inspired in favor of extraordinary men, even without having seen them, openly espoused this prince's cause in the seraglio. She called him by no other name than that of her lion. And when will you, (would she sometimes say to the sultan her son,) when will you assist my lion to devour the czar? She even dispensed with the rules of the seraglio so far, as to write several letters with her own hand to count Poniatowski, in whose hands they still are at the time of my writing this history.*

* Meanwhile

* The valid sultaness wrote likewise twice to the king of Sweden. The following is a translation of her letters, such as it has been found in the king of France's repository of foreign affairs, in the hand writing of Mr. Brue, first druggerman to the French embassy.

" My most powerful and magnificent son, whom I love more than my soul, after having greeted you and inquired after your noble health, which I wish good and perfect, if you ask after mine, it is likewise in a good state. You know that I am strongly prepossessed in your favor. The letter which you sent has been remitted to my most happy emperor. He is informed of

all

Meanwhile the king was honorably conducted <sup>J.C. 1709.
Aug. 1121.</sup> to Bender through the desert which was formerly called the wilderness of the Getæ. The Turks took care that nothing should be wanting on the road to render the journey agreeable. A great many Poles, Swedes, and Cossacks, who had escaped from the Muscovites, came by different ways to increase his train on the road. By the time he reached Bender, he had eighteen hundred men, who were all maintained and lodged, both they and their horses, at the expence of the grand seignior.

The king chose to encamp near Bender, rather than lodge in the town. The seraskier Jussuf bashaw caused a magnificent tent to be erected for

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R

him,

all the outrages that have been done you, and the derviche his mother is working for you night and day. My most happy emperor has replied in these terms: *If it please God, I will see that he obtain his desires, even beyond his expectations. It is very certain that in a little time he will overcome all his enemies.* So don't listen to nor believe what your enemies may say. My soul, the eyes of my head, don't be chagrined. The derviche has received the deposit which you have intrusted to her care; it has given her great pleasure. In a little time you shall begin your journey. As my most powerful emperor does not let any one know his secrets, take care not to divulge yours. Sarai is incomparable; she has done every thing in her power."

The other letter from the valid sultaness to the king of Sweden.

"My most powerful, most happy, and most honorable son the king of Sweden, after having offered prayers as pearls and greetings to your majesty, you know, that, by the permission of God, I have charged myself with your affairs, and they will be settled to your wishes, as my most formidable and invincible emperor is well acquainted with all the wrongs that have been done you. The letters that have been written are fallen into his hands. Don't be under any uneasiness, nor listen to what your enemies say. Thus far the principal ones have been overcome, and those that remain will meet their deserts one after another. In ten days or a fort'night

you

J.C. 1709. him, and tents were likewise provided for all the
 Heg. 1121. lords of his retinue. Some time after, the prince
 built a house in this place ; the officers followed
 his example, and the soldiers raised barracks, so
 that his camp insensibly became a little town. As
 the king was not yet cured of his wound, he was
 obliged to have a carious bone extracted from his
 foot ; but as soon as he could get on horseback
 again, he resumed his wonted labours, always
 getting up before sun-rising, tiring three horses
 a day, and exercising his soldiers. By way of
 amusement he sometimes played at chess ; and
 as the characters of men are often discovered by
 the most trifling incidents, it may not be improper
 to observe, that he always advanced the king first
 at that game, and made greater use of him than

of

you shall set out. My most formidable and invincible emperor does not let any one know his secrets ; but he has made his preparations secretly, and he works after he has gotten rid of those who are perfidious. My most amiable emperor has made use of these words : *By the soul of my ancestors, I will conduct the king of Sweden to the place of his destination. The king of Sweden is my brother.* Once more don't listen to what your enemies say. If it please God, the field will be our own. My soul, have respect for your gentleman ; without him your affairs would not be settled. § I love him as if he were my child, because he has exposed himself for you, and served you with integrity. That your days may be happy is the sincere wish of The Poor Derviche.

“ *Postscript.* It is fortunate that Sarai interposes. Without her I should never have known your affairs. My most majestic son, endeavour to keep in with her. Your affairs will be settled to your wishes. Don't be uneasy about Sarai ; she is in your interest, and, whilst I have life, you may always depend on me. My soul, you know that my beloved emperor stands alone and is devoured with chagrin ; but the wicked ones will meet their deserts ; the field will remain to me, and to you likewise.” AUTHOR.

§ Note. The gentleman alluded to is general Poniatowski,

of any other men, by which mean he was always J.C. 1709.
Heg. 1121.
a loser.

‘ At Bender he had all the necessaries of life in great abundance, a felicity that seldom falls to the lot of a vanquished and fugitive prince; for, besides the more than sufficient quantity of provisions, and the five hundred crowns a day which he received from the Ottoman munificence, he drew some money from France, and borrowed of the merchants of Constantinople. Part of this money was employed in forwarding his intrigues in the seraglio, in buying the favors of the viziers, or procuring their ruin.

‘ A number of strangers came from Constantinople to see him. The Turks and the neighbouring Tartars came thither in crowds; all respected and admired him. His rigid abstinence from wine, and his regularity in assisting twice a day at public prayers, made them say: this is a true Mussulman. They ardently wished to march with him to the conquest of Moscovy.

‘ Charles XII.’s envoy presented memorials in his name to the grand vizier, and Poniatowski supported them with all his interest. This nobleman’s address succeeded in every thing; he was always dressed in the Turkish fashion, and had free access to every place. The grand seignior made him a present of a purse with a thousand ducats; and the grand vizier said to him: I will take your king in one hand, and a sword in the

Munifi-
cence of
the sultan
to Charles.

Charles’s
occupation
among the
Turks.

J.C. 1709. other, and bring him to Moscow at the head of
 Heg. 1121. two hundred thousand men. This grand vizier
 was called Chourlouli Ali bashaw; he was the son
 of a peasant of the village of Chourlou. Such
 an extraction is not reckoned a disgrace among
 the Turks, who have no rank of nobility, neither
 that which is annexed to certain employments,
 nor that which consists in titles. With them the
 dignity and importance of a man's character de-
 pend entirely upon his personal services. This is
 a custom which prevails in most of the eastern
 countries; a custom very natural and which might
 be productive of the most beneficial effects, if
 posts of honor were conferred on none but men
 of merit; but the viziers for the most part are
 only the creatures of a black eunuch, or a favorite
 female slave.

Charles
 XII.'s
 hopes con-
 stantly de-
 ceived in
 Turkey.

The prime minister soon changed his mind.
 The king could do nothing but negotiate, and
 the czar could give money, which he distributed
 with great profusion; and he even employed the
 money of Charles XII. on this occasion. The
 military chest which he took at Pultoway fur-
 nished him with new arms against the vanquished
 king; and it was no longer a question at court,
 whether war should be made upon the Russians.
 The czar's interest was all powerful at the Porte,
 which granted such honors to his envoy as the
 Muscovite ministers had never before enjoyed at
 Constantinople. The czar thought he might even
 demand,

demand, that general Mazeppa* should be put into his hands, as Charles XII. had caused the unhappy Patkul to be delivered up to him. Chourlouli Ali bashaw could refuse nothing to a prince who backed his demands with millions. Thus, that same grand vizier, who had formerly promised, in the most solemn manner, to lead the king of Sweden into Moscovy with two hundred thousand men, had the assurance to make him a proposal of consenting to the sacrifice of general Mazeppa. Charles was enraged at this demand. It is hard to say how far the vizier might have pushed the affair, had not Mazeppa, who was now seventy years of age, died exactly at this juncture. The king's grief and indignation were greatly increased, when he learned that Tolstoy, now become the czar's ambassador at the Porte, was served in public by Swedes made slaves at Pultoway, and that these brave soldiers were daily sold in the market at Constantinople. Nay, the Russian ambassador made no scruple of declaring openly, that the Mussulman troops at Bender

were

* Mazeppa, prince of the Cossacks, who had quitted the alliance, or rather the dependance, of the czar, to join Charles XII. Patkul, the general of the Livonians, in rebellion against Charles XII. had been sent ambassador to king Augustus by the czar. One of the articles of the peace concluded between king Augustus and the king of Sweden was, that Patkul should be delivered up to him as a rebellious subject and a traitor. Augustus, pressed to conclude the peace, violated the law of nations, by delivering to the king of Sweden a man invested with a sacred character; and Charles XII. violated it still more, by having this same ambassador broken alive on the wheel, who was guilty of nothing but having claimed, in arms, the privileges and rights of his nation. AUTHOR.

J.C. 1710. were placed there rather with a view to secure
Heg. 1122. the king's person, than to do him any honor.

Charles, abandoned by the grand vizier, and vanquished by the czar's money in Turkey, as he had been by his arms in the Ukraine, saw himself deceived and despised by the Porte, and almost a prisoner among the Tartars. His attendants began to despair. Himself alone remained firm, and never appeared in the least dejected. Convinced that the sultan was ignorant of the intrigues of Chourlouli Ali, his grand vizier, he resolved to acquaint him with them; and Poniatowski undertook the execution of this hazardous enterprise. The grand seignior goes every Friday to mosque, surrounded by his solacks, a kind of guards, whose turbans are adorned with such high feathers, as to conceal the sultan from the view of the people. When any one has a petition to present to the grand seignior, he endeavours to mingle with the guards, and holds the petition aloft. Sometimes the sultan condescends to receive it himself; but for the most part he orders an aga to take charge of it, and upon his return from the mosque causes the petition to be laid before him. There is no fear of any one's presuming to importune him with useless memorials and trifling petitions, as they write less at Constantinople in a whole year, than they do at Paris in one day. There is still less danger of any memorials' being presented against the ministers, to whom the sultan commonly gives them

unread.

unread. Poniatowski had no other way of conveying the king of Sweden's complaint to the grand seignior. He drew up a heavy charge against the grand vizier. Mr. Deferiolles, who was then the French ambassador, and who gave me an account of the whole affair, got the memorial translated into Turkish. A Greek was hired to present it. This Greek, mingling with the grand seignior's guards, held up the paper so high for so long a time, and made such a noise, that the sultan observed him, and took the memorial himself. This method of presenting memorials to the grand seignior against the viziers was frequently employed. A Swede, called Leloin, gave in another petition a few days after. Thus, in the Turkish empire, Charles XII. was reduced to the necessity of using the same expedient as an oppressed subject.

Some days after this, the sultan sent the king of Sweden, as the only answer to his complaints, five and twenty Arabian horses, one of which, that had carried his highness, was covered with a saddle and housing enriched with precious stones, and the stirrups were of massy gold. This present was accompanied with an obliging letter, but conceived in general terms, and such as gave reason to suspect that the minister had done nothing without the sultan's consent. Chourlouli too, who was a perfect master of the art of dissimulation, sent the king five beautiful horses. But Charles, with a lofty air, said to the person that

J.C. 1710.
Heg. 1122.

Obliged
to have pe-
titions pre-
sented to
the sultan.

J.C. 1710. that brought them : Go back to your master, and
Heg. 1122. tell him, that I don't receive presents from my
enemies.

' Poniatowski, having already ventured to have a petition presented against the vizier, next formed the bold design of deposing him. Understanding that the vizier was disagreeable to the sultaness-mother, and that he was hated by the kislar aga, the chief of the black eunuchs, and by the aga of the janissaries, he prompted them all three to speak against him. It was something very surprising to see a Christian, a Pole, an uncommissioned agent of the king of Sweden, who had taken refuge among the Turks, caballing almost openly at the Porte against a viceroy of the Ottoman empire, who, at the same time, was both an able minister and a favorite of his master. Poniatowski could never have succeeded, and the bare attempt would have cost him his life, had not a power, superior to all those that operated in his favor, given a finishing stroke to the fortune of the grand vizier Chourlouli.

Strange vi.
ziers. ' The sultan had a young favorite, who afterward governed the Ottoman empire, and was killed in 1716 at the battle of Peterwaradin, which prince Eugene of Savoy gained over the Turks. His name was Coumourgi Ali : his birth was much the same with that of Chourlouli ; being the son of a coal-heaver, as Coumourgi imports, *coumor*, in Turkish, signifying *coal*. The emperor Achmet II. uncle of Achmet III. having met

met Coumourgj, while yet an infant, in a little wood near Adrianople, was struck with his extraordinary beauty, and caused him to be conveyed to the seraglio. Mustapha, the eldest son of Mahomet IV. was very fond of him; and Achmet III. made him his favorite. He had then the place of seliçtar aga, or sword-bearer to the crown. His extreme youth did not allow him to make any open pretensions to the post of grand vizier; and yet he had the ambition to aspire at it. The Swedish faction could never draw over this favorite to their side. He had never been a friend to Charles, or to any other Christian prince, or to any of their ministers; but on this occasion he served king Charles XII. without intending to do so. He joined with the valid sultanes, and the great officers of the Porte, to hasten the ruin of Chourlouli, who was equally hated by them all. This old minister, who had served his master for a long time, and with great fidelity, fell a victim to the caprice of a boy, and the intrigues of a foreigner. He was stripped of his dignity and riches. His wife, who was the daughter of the late sultan Mustapha, was taken from him; and himself was banished to Caffa, formerly called Theodosia, in Crim Tartary.* The

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bull

* It is said in one of the dispatches of Mr Deferiolles, that the vizier Chourlouli having had an explanation with sultan Achmet III. at the time that the seals were demanded of him, this minister spoke to the prince with a liberty which the Turkish monarch was little accustomed to. Achmet caught up a club which lay near him to knock him down. "My life is in

" thy

J.C. 1710.
Heg. 1122.

bull or seal of the empire was given to Numan Kiuperli, grandson to the great Kiuperli who took Candia. This new vizier was, what ill-informed Christians can hardly believe it possible for a Turk to be, a man of incorruptible virtue, a scrupulous observer of the law, and one who frequently opposed the rigid rules of justice to the wayward will of the sultan. He could not endure to hear of a war against Moscovy, which he considered as alike unjust and unnecessary; but the same attachment to his law, that prevented his making war upon the czar, contrary to the faith of treaties, made him observe the rights of hospitality towards the king of Sweden. He would say to his master : “ The law forbids thee to attack the czar, who has done thee no injury ; but it commands thee to succour the king of Sweden, who is an unfortunate prince in thy dominions.” He sent his majesty eight hundred purses (a purse is worth about sixty pounds sterling), and advised him to return peaceably to his own dominions, either through the territories of the emperor of Germany, or in some of the French vessels which then lay in the harbour of Constantinople, and which Mr. Deferiolles, the French ambassador at the Porte, offered to Charles to conduct him to Marseilles. Count Poniatowski carried

“ thy power,” said Chourlouli to him, “ I have dedicated it to thee a long time ; I have done even more, I have exposed myself to public hatred to fill thy coffers and serve thee well. Punish me for it, if thou darest and art desirous of encouraging those no better who shall serve thee after me.” The monarch, astonished, ordered Chourlouli out of the room. AUTHOR.

carried on his negotiations with greater activity J.C. 1711.
 than ever, and acquired such a superiority with
 an incorruptible vizier, as the gold of the Mos-
 covites was unable to counterbalance. The Rus-
 sian faction thought it would be their wisest course
 to poison such a dangerous negotiator. They
 gained one of his servants, who was to give him
 poison in a dish of coffee; but the design was
 discovered before it was carried into execution.
 The poison was found in the servant's hands,
 contained in a small vial, which was carried to
 the grand seignior. The prisoner was tried in
 open divan, and condemned to the galleys; the
 justice of the Turks never inflicting death for
 those crimes that have not been perpetrated.

‘ Charles XII. who could not be persuaded but
 that, sooner or later, he should be able to engage
 the Turkish empire in a war against Moscow,
 rejected every proposal that was made for his
 peaceable return home. He was continually re-
 presenting to the Turks, how formidable the
 power of that same czar was, whom he had so
 long despised. His emissaries were perpetually
 insinuating, that Peter Alexiowitz wanted to
 make himself master of the navigation of the
 Black sea; and that, after having subdued the
 Cossacks, he would carry his arms into Crim
 Tartary. Sometimes these representations aroused
 the Porte, at others the Russian ministers de-
 stroyed all their effect.

J.C. 1710.
Heg. 1122. ‘ Whilst Charles XII. made his fate depend upon the caprice of viziers, and whilst he was alternately receiving favors and affronts from a foreign power, presenting petitions to the sultan, and subsisting upon his bounty in a desert, all his enemies, awaked from their former lethargy, invaded his dominions; and Stanislaus, king of Poland, whom he had so powerfully protected, yielded up the throne to his competitor Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony.

‘ The grand vizier Kiuperli, who opposed all the designs of Charles XII. was dismissed from his office, after having filled it two months. The king of Sweden’s little court, and those who still adhered to him in Poland, gave out that Charles made and unmade the viziers, and governed the Turkish empire from his retreat at Bender; but he had no hand in the disgrace of that favorite. The vizier’s rigid probity was said to have been the sole cause of his fall. His predecessor had paid the janissaries, not out of the imperial treasury, but with the money which he procured by extortion. Kiuperli paid them out of the treasury. Achmet reproached him with preferring the interests of the subject to that of the emperor: “ Thy predecessor Chourlouli,” said he, “ well knew how to find other means of paying my troops.” “ If,” replied Kiuperli, “ he had the art of enriching thy highness by rapine, it is an art which I glory in being ignorant of.”

‘ The

* The profound secrecy that prevails in the seraglio seldom allows such particulars to transpire to the public; but this fact was published along with Kiuperli's disgrace. The vizier's boldness did not cost him his head, because true virtue is sometimes respected, even while it displeases. He was permitted to retire to the isle of Negropont. These particulars I learned from the letters of Mr. Brue, my relation, first drugerman to the Ottoman Porte, and I have given them here, in order to display the true spirit of that government.

* After this, the grand seignior recalled from Aleppo baltagi Mehemet, bashaw of Syria, who had already been grand vizier before Chourlouli.* The baltagis of the seraglio, so called from *balta*, which signifies an axe, are slaves employed to cut wood for the use of the princes of the Ottoman blood, and the sultanesses. This vizier had been a baltagi in his youth, and had ever since retained the name of that office, according to the custom of the Turks, who are not ashamed to take the name of their profession, or of that of their father, or even of the place of their birth.

Whilst Baltagi Mehemet was a valet in the seraglio, he was so happy as to perform some little services

* This was the reputed husband of Sarai. Without doubt this mistress's influence still subsisted. With respect to this woman, there is some trifling difference between Mr. Voltaire's account and mine. I have followed prince Cantimir and several manuscript letters found in the king of France's repository of foreign affairs. We should have extraordinary lights indeed on history, if writers did not differ more, nor on more essential points. AUTHOR.

^{J.C. 1710.} ~~Heg. 1122.~~ services to prince Achmet, who was then a prisoner of state in the reign of his brother Mustapha.

The princes of the Ottoman blood are allowed to keep for their pleasure a few women who are past the age of child-bearing, but still agreeable enough to please. As soon as Achmet became sultan, he gave one of these female slaves, for whom he had had a great affection, in marriage to Baltagi Mehemet. This woman, by her intrigues, made her husband grand vizier; another intrigue displaced him; and a third made him grand vizier again.

When Baltagi Mehemet received the bull of the empire, he found the party of the king of Sweden prevailing in the seraglio. The valid sultaness, Ali Coumourgi the grand seignior's favorite, the kislar aga, chief of the black eunuchs, and the aga of the janissaries, were all for a war against the czar; the sultan was fixed in the same resolution, and the first order he gave the grand vizier was to go and attack the Russians with two hundred thousand men. Baltagi had never made a campaign; but he was not an ideot, as the Swedes, who were dissatisfied with his conduct, affected to represent him. He said to the grand seignior, upon receiving from him a sword set with precious stones: "Thy highness knows that I was brought up to handle an axe and cleave wood, not to wield a sword and command armies: nevertheless, I will endeavour to serve thee to the best of my power; but should I fail of success remember I have entreated thee before

"before hand not to impute the blame to me." J.C. 1710.
Heg. 1122.
The sultan assured him that he might depend upon his friendship, and the vizier prepared to carry his orders into execution.

' The first step of the Ottoman Porte was to J.C. 1711.
Heg. 1123. imprison the Russian ambassador in the castle of the Seven Towers. It is the custom of the Turks to begin by arresting the ministers of those princes against whom they declare war. Strict observers of hospitality in every thing else, in this they violate the most sacred law of nations. This injustice, however, they commit under the pretext of equity, believing themselves, or, at least, desirous to make others believe, that they never undertake any but just wars, because they are consecrated by the approbation of their mufti. Upon this principle they take up arms (as they imagine) to chastise the violators of treaties, and think they have a right to punish the ambassadors of those kings with whom they are at enmity, as being accomplices in the treachery of their masters.

' Add to this the ridiculous contempt they affect to entertain for Christian princes, and their ambassadors, the latter of whom they commonly consider in no other light than as the consuls of merchants.

' The khan of Crim Tartary, received orders to hold himself in readiness with forty thousand Tartars. This prince is sovereign of Nogai, Budziack, part of Circassia, and all the Crimea, a province anciently known by the name

J.C. 1711. name of Taurica Chersonesus, into which the
Heg. 1123. Greeks carried their arms and commerce, and founded several powerful cities; and into which, in after times, the Genoese penetrated, when they were masters of the trade of Europe. In this country are to be seen the ruins of some Greek towns, and some monuments of the Genoese, which still subsist in the midst of desolation and barbarity.

‘ The khan is called emperor by his own subjects; but with this grand title he is nevertheless the slave of the Porte. The Ottoman blood, from which the khans are sprung, and the right they pretend to have to the empire of the Turks, upon the failure of the grand seignior’s race, render their family respectable, and their persons formidable even to the sultan himself. ’Tis for this reason that the grand seignior dares not venture to destroy the race of the khans of Tartary; tho’ indeed he seldom allows any of these princes to grow old on the throne. Their conduct is closely inspected by the neighbouring bashaws: their dominions are surrounded with janissaries; their inclinations thwarted by the grand viziers; and their designs always suspected. If the Tartars complain of their khan, the Porte deposes him under that pretext. If he is too popular, it is still a higher crime, and he is the sooner punished. Thus, almost all of them are driven from sovereign power into exile, and end their days at Rhodes, which is commonly their prison and their

their grave.* The Tartars, their subjects, are the most thievish people upon earth; and, what is hardly to be credited, are, at the same time, the most hospitable. They will go fifty leagues from home to attack a caravan, or pillage a town; and yet when any stranger happens to travel through their country, he is not only received, lodged, and maintained every where, but through whatever place he passes, the inhabitants dispute with each other the honor of having him for their guest; and the master of the house, his wife, and daughters, are ambitious to serve him. This inviolable regard to hospitality they have derived from their ancestors the Scythians; and they still preserve it, because the small number of strangers that travel among them, and the low price of all sorts of provisions, render the practice of such a virtue no way burthensome.

When the Tartars go to war, in conjunction with the Ottoman army, they are maintained by the grand seignior, but the booty they get is their

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only

* The khans of Crimea are all called Gersi. There is a tradition among the Tartars, which gives the reason of this hereditary name. Towards the year 1400, a general insurrection broke out in Little Tartary. Not only the reigning prince was put to death, but all his posterity, and all those that bore his name. A peasant, called Gerai, touched with pity, saved one of these princes, a child, and brought him up obscurely in his cottage. The rebels did not agree on the division of Crimea, and the people, oppressed by intestine wars, soon regretted the race of their masters. On this, Gerai produced the young prince that he had saved, and got him acknowledged by incontestable marks. This prince was unanimously placed on the throne of his ancestors, and he granted to the Tartar who had preserved him his sceptre and life, that, for the future, all the khans of Crimea should add the name of Gerai to theirs. AUTHOR.

J.C. 1711.
Heg. 1123.

J.C. 1711. only pay ; and hence it is that they are much fitter
 Heg. 1123. for plundering than fighting.

' The khan, gained over to the king of Sweden's interest by presents and promises, at first obtained leave to appoint the general rendezvous of the troops at Bender under the eyes of Charles XII. in order the more effectually to convince that monarch that the war was undertaken solely for his sake. The new vizier Baltagi Mehemet, who did not lie under the same engagements, would not flatter a foreign prince so highly. He changed the order ; and Adrianople was the place where this great army assembled. 'Tis always in the vast and fertile plains of Adrianople that the Turks assemble their armies, when they are going to make war against the Christians : there, the troops that arrive from Asia and Africa repose and refresh themselves for a few weeks ; but the grand vizier, in order to anticipate the preparations of the czar, allowed the army but three days rest, and then marched to the Danube, from whence he advanced into Bessarabia.

The czar
near being
taken.

' The czar, in all appearance, must have vanquished Baltagi Mehemet ; but was guilty of the same fault with regard to the Turks, as the king of Sweden had committed with regard to him : he despised his enemy two much. Upon the first news of the Turkish preparations, he left Moscow ; and, having given orders for turning the siege of Riga into a blockade, he assembled a body of eighty thousand men on the frontiers of

Poland,

Poland.* With this army he took the road J.C. 1711.
through Moldavia and Walachia, formerly the
country of the Daci, but now inhabited by Greek
Christians, who are tributaries to the grand seig-
nior. Moldavia was, at that time, governed by
prince Cantimir, a Greek by birth, and who united
in his person the talents of the ancient Greeks,
the knowledge of letters and of arms. He was
supposed to have sprung from the famous Timur,
known by the name of Tamerlane. This extrac-
tion appeared more honorable than a Greek origin;
and the reality of the descent is proved by the
name of the conqueror. Timur, it is said, re-
sembles Timir: the title of khan, or can, which
Timur possessed before he conquered Asia, is in-
cluded in the word Cantimir: therefore prince
Cantimir is descended from Tamerlane. Such
are the foundations of most genealogies!

From whatever family Cantimir was sprung,
he owed all his fortune to the Ottoman Porte.
Hardly had he received the investiture of his prin-
cipality, when he betrayed his benefactor, the
Turkish emperor, to the czar, from whom he ex-
pected greater advantages. He fondly imagined
that the vanquisher of Charles XII. would easily
triumph over a vizier of so little reputation, who
had never made a campaign, and who had chosen

* The chaplain Norberg alledges, that the czar compelled every fourth man
in his dominions, able to bear arms, to follow him to the field. Had this
been the case, his army would have amounted, at least, to two millions of
men. VOLTAIRE.

J.C. 1711. for his kiaia, or lieutenant, the superintendent of
Heg. 1123. the customs in Turkey. He did not doubt that
all his subjects would readily follow his standard,
as the Greek patriarchs encouraged him in his
revolt. The czar, therefore, having made a se-
cret treaty with this prince, and received him
into his army, advanced further into the country;
and, in June, 1711, arrived on the northern
banks of the river Hierasus, now Pruth, near Jazy,
the capital of Moldavia. As soon as the grand
vizier heard that Peter Alexiowitz was advanc-
ing on that side, he immediately decamped, and,
following the course of the Danube, resolved to
cross the river on a bridge of boats, near a town
called Saccia, at the same place where Darius for-
merly built the bridge that long went by his name.
The Turkish army proceeded with so much ex-
pedition, that it soon came in sight of the Russians,
the river Pruth being between them.

The czar, sure of the prince of Moldavia,
never dreamed that the Moldavians would desert
him. But it frequently happens, that the interest
of the prince and that of the subjects are extremely
different. The Moldavians liked the Turkish
government, which is never fatal to any but the
grandees, and affects great lenity and mildness to
its tributary states. They dreaded the Christians,
and especially the Russians, who had always
treated them with inhumanity. They carried all
their provisions to the Ottoman army. The per-
sons who had engaged to furnish the Russians
with

with provisions, performed that contract with the J.C. 1717.
Heg. 1123. grand vizier which they had made with the czar. The Walachians, who border upon the Moldavians, discovered the same attachment to the Turks; so much had the remembrance of the Russian cruelty alienated all their affections.

‘ The czar, thus baulked of his hopes, which perhaps he had too rashly entertained, saw his army on a sudden destitute of forage and provisions. The soldiers deserted in troops; and the army was soon reduced to less than thirty thousand men, ready to die with hunger.

‘ Meanwhile, the Turks passed the river, hemmed in the Russians, and formed an intrenched camp before them. It is somewhat surprising that the czar did not dispute the passage of the river, or, at least, repair this error by attacking the Turks immediately after the passage, instead of giving them time to destroy his army by hunger and fatigue. It would seem indeed that this prince did every thing in this campaign to hasten his own ruin. He found himself without provisions; the river Pruth in his rear; a hundred and fifty thousand Turks before him; whilst forty thousand Tartars were continually harrassing his army on the right and left. In this extremity he made no scruple of acknowledging in public, that he was at least reduced to as bad a condition as his brother Charles had been at Pultoway.

‘ Count Poniatowski, an indefatigable agent of the king of Sweden, was in the grand vizier’s army,

J.C. 1711.
Heg. 1123. army, together with some Poles and Swedes, all
of whom considered the ruin of the czar as inevitable.

‘ As soon as Poniatowski saw that the armies must infallibly come to an engagement, he sent an express to the king of Sweden, who immediately set out from Bender, accompanied with forty officers, anticipating the mighty pleasure he should have in fighting the Russian emperor. After many losses, and several marches in which he suffered severely, the czar was driven back to the Pruth, without any other defence than chevaux de frise and a few waggons. A party of janissaries and spahis attacked his army in this disadvantageous situation ; but their attack was disorderly, and the Russians defended themselves with a firmness and resolution which nothing but despair and the presence of their prince could inspire.

‘ The Turks were twice repulsed. Next day, count Poniatowski advised the grand vizier to starve the Russian army, which, being in want of every thing, would, together with its emperor, be obliged in a day’s time to surrender at discretion.

‘ The czar has since acknowledged more than once, that, in the whole course of his life, he never felt any thing so exquisitely tormenting as the perturbation of mind in which he passed that night. He revolved in his thoughts all that he had been doing for so many years, to promote
the

the glory and happiness of his country. He re- J.C. 1711.
flected that so many great undertakings, which Heg. 1123.
had been always interrupted by wars, were now perhaps going to perish with him, before they were fully accomplished. And he plainly perceived, that he must either be destroyed by famine, or attack about a hundred and eighty thousand men with feeble and dispirited troops, diminished one half in their number, the cavalry almost entirely dismounted, and the infantry exhausted with hunger and fatigue.

‘ He sent for general Czeremetof in the evening, and, without the least hesitation, or even so much as asking any one’s advice, ordered him to have every thing in readiness next morning for attacking the Turks with fixed bayonets.

‘ He likewise gave express orders that all the baggage should be burnt, and that no officer should keep above one waggon; that so, in case of a defeat, the enemy might not obtain the booty they expected.

‘ Having settled every thing with the general relating to the battle, he retired to his tent, oppressed with grief and racked with convulsions, a disease which often attacked him, and always recurred with redoubled violence when he was under any perturbation of mind. He gave peremptory orders, that no one should presume, under any pretext whatsoever, to enter his tent in the night; not choosing to receive any remonstrances against a resolution which, however des-
perate,

J.C. 1711. perate, was absolutely necessary, and still less
Heg. 1123. that any one should be a witness of the melancholy condition in which he was.

‘ Meanwhile the greatest part of the baggage was burnt, according to his orders. All the army followed the example, though with much reluctance; and several buried their most valuable effects in the earth. The general officers were already giving orders for the march, and endeavouring to inspire the army with that courage which themselves did not possess. The soldiers, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, advanced without spirit and without hope. The women, with which the army was but too much crowded, set up the most lamentable shrieks and cries, which contributed still more to enervate the men; and next morning every one expected death or slavery as the only alternative. This picture is by no means exaggerated: it is exactly agreeable to the accounts that were given by some officers that served in the army.

‘ The celebrated empress Catharine had followed her husband to Pruth camp. She held a council with the general officers and the vice-chancellor Schaffirof, whilst the czar was in his tent. The result of their deliberations was, that they must necessarily sue for a peace to the Turks, and endeavour to persuade the czar to agree to such a measure. The vice-chancellor wrote a letter to the grand vizier in his master’s name. This letter the czarina carried to the emperor’s tent,

tent, notwithstanding his prohibition; and having with tears and entreaties prevailed upon him to sign it, she instantly collected all her jewels, money, and most valuable effects, together with what money she could borrow from the general officers, and having by these means made up a considerable present, she sent it, with the czar's letter, to Osman aga, lieutenant to the grand vizier. Mehemet Baltagi replied, with the lofty air of a vizier and a vanquisher: "Let the czar send me his prime minister, and I shall then consider what is to be done." The vice-chancellor Schaffirof immediately repaired to the Turkish camp with some presents, which he publicly offered to the grand vizier, sufficiently considerable to shew him that they stood in need of his clemency, but too inconsiderable to corrupt his integrity.

The vizier at first demanded, that the czar, with his whole army, should surrender at discretion. The vice-chancellor replied, that his master was going to attack him in a quarter of an hour, and that the Russians would perish to a man, rather than submit to such dishonorable conditions. Schaffirof's application was strongly seconded by the remonstrances of Osman.

Mehemet Baltagi was no warrior: he saw that the janissaries had been repulsed the day before; so that Osman easily prevailed upon him not to risk such certain advantages upon the fate of a battle. He accordingly granted a suspension of

J.C. 1711. arms for six hours, in which time the terms of the
 Heg. 1123. treaty might be fully settled.

The vizier
 treats with
 the czar :
 Charles
 loses all
 hopes.

‘ During the parley, there happened a trifling incident, which plainly shews that the Turks often keep their word with a more scrupulous exactness than we imagine. Two Italian gentlemen, relations of lieutenant-colonel Brillo of a regiment of grenadiers in the czar’s service, having gone to some distance in quest of forage, were taken prisoners by some Tartars, who brought them to the camp, and offered to sell them to an officer of the janissaries. The Turk, enraged at their presumption, in having thus violated the truce, arrested the Tartars, and carried them himself before the grand vizier, together with the two prisoners. The vizier sent back the two gentlemen to the czar’s camp, and ordered the two Tartars who had been chiefly concerned in carrying them off to be beheaded.

‘ However, the khan of Tartary opposed the conclusion of the treaty, which would deprive him of all hopes of plunder; and Poniatowski seconded the khan with the strongest arguments. But Osman carried his point against the importunity of the Tartar, and the insinuations of Poniatowski.

‘ The vizier thought, that by concluding an advantageous peace, he should sufficiently consult the honor and interest of his master. He insisted that the Russians should restore Afosp, burn the galleys which lay in that harbour, demolish

molish the important citadels built upon the <sup>J.C. 1711.
Heg. 1123.</sup> Palus Maeotis, and deliver all the cannon and ammunition of these fortresses into the hands of the grand seignior; that the czar should withdraw his troops from Poland, give no further disturbance to the few Cossacks that were under the protection of the Poles, nor to those that were subject to the Turks; and that for the future he should pay the Tartars an annual subsidy of forty thousand sequins; an odious tribute formerly imposed, but from which the czar had delivered his country.*

‘At last the treaty was going to be signed, without so much as making mention of the king of Sweden. All that Poniatowski could obtain of the vizier, was, to insert an article, by which the Russian emperor bound himself not to incommodate the return of Charles XII. and, what is very remarkable, it was stipulated in this article, that the czar and the king of Sweden should make peace, if they thought proper, and could agree upon the terms.

‘On these conditions the czar was permitted to retire with his army, cannon, artillery, colours, and baggage; the Turks supplied him with provisions, and he had plenty of every thing in his camp two hours after the signing of the treaty,

* The grand vizier wanted to have prince Cantimir delivered up to the Porte as a rebellious subject; but the czar would never consent to it. He even settled upon that prince lands in the Ukraine, with a considerable pension. AUTHOR.

J.C. 1711. which was begun, concluded, and signed the 21st
Heg. 1123. of July, 1711.

' Just as the czar, now extricated from this terrible dilemma, was marching off with drums beating and colours flying, the king of Sweden arrived, impatient for the fight, and happy in the thoughts of having his enemy in his power. He had ridden post above fifty leagues, from Bender to Jazy. He arrived the very moment that the Russians were beginning to retire in peace; but he could not penetrate to the Turkish camp without passing the Pruth by a bridge three leagues distant. Charles XII. who never did any thing like other men, swam across the river, at the hazard of being drowned, and traversed the Russian camp at the risk of being taken. At length he reached the Turkish army, and alighted at the tent of count Poniatowski, who informed me of these particulars, both by letter and personally. The count came out to him with a sorrowful countenance, and told him that he had lost an opportunity, which perhaps he would never be able to recover.

' The king, inflamed with resentment, flew straight away to the tent of the grand vizier, and, with a stern air, reproached him with the treaty he had made. "I have a right," says the grand vizier, with a calm aspect, "either to make peace or war." "But," adds the king, "hast thou not the whole Russian army in thy power?" "Our law commands us," replies the grand vizier,

zier, with great gravity, “to grant peace to our J.C. 1711.
enemies when they implore our mercy.” “And ^{Heg. 1123.} And
“does it command thee,” resumes the king in
a passion, “to make a bad treaty, when thou
“mayest impose what laws thou pleasest? Hadst
“thou not a fair opportunity, if thou wouldest
“have embraced it, of leading the czar a pri-
“soner to Constantinople?”

‘The Turk, driven to this extremity, replied very coldly: “And who would have governed his empire in his absence? It is not proper that all kings should leave their dominions.” Charles made no other answer, than by a smile of indignation. He then threw himself down upon a sofa, and, eying the vizier with an air of contempt and resentment, stretched out his leg, and, entangling his spur in the Turk’s robe, purposely tore it: after which he rose up, mounted his horse, and, with a sorrowful heart, returned to Bender. Poniatowski continued some time longer with the grand vizier, to try if he could not prevail upon him, by more gentle means, to extort greater concessions from the czar; but the hour of prayer being come, the Turk, without answering a single word, went to wash and attend divine service.

‘The fortune of the king of Sweden, now so different from what it had formerly been, harrassed him even in the most trifling circumstances. On his return, he found his little camp at Bender, and all his apartment, overflowed by the water of the Niester. He retired to the distance of some miles,

J.C. 1711. miles, near the village of Varnitza; and, as if he
 Heg. 1123. had had a secret foreboding of what was to befall
 him, he there built a large house of stone, capable,
 on occasion, to sustain an assault for a few
 hours. He even furnished it in a magnificent
 manner, contrary to his usual custom, in order the
 more effectually to attract the respect of the
 Turks.

He likewise built two other houses, one for
 his chancery, and the other for his favorite Gro-
 thusen, who kept a table at the king's expence.
 Whilst Charles was thus employed in building
 near Bender, as if he had always intended to re-
 main in Turkey, Baltagi Mehemet, dreading more
 than ever the intrigues and complaints of this
 prince at the Porte, had sent the resident of the
 emperor of Germany to Vienna, to demand a
 free passage for the king of Sweden through the
 hereditary dominions of the house of Austria.
 The envoy, in the space of three weeks, brought
 back a promise from the imperial regency, im-
 porting, that they would pay Charles XII. all due
 honors, and conduct him safely into Pomerania.

Charles
 struggles
 much
 against his
 bad for-
 tune.

Application was made to the regency of Vi-
 enna, because Charles, the emperor of Germany,
 who had succeeded Joseph I. was then in Spain,
 disputing the crown of that kingdom with Philip
 V. Whilst the German envoy was executing
 this commission at Vienna, the grand vizier sent
 three bashaws to acquaint the king of Sweden,
 that he must quit the Turkish dominions.

• The

‘ The king, being previously apprised of the J.C. 1711.
Heg. 1123. orders with which they were charged, caused intimation to be given them, that if they presumed to make him any proposals contrary to his honor, or to the respect that was due to his character, he would have them all three hung up immediately. The bashaw of Salonichi, who delivered the message, disguised the harshness of the commission, under the most respectful terms. Charles put an end to the audience without deigning to give them an answer. His chancellor Mullern, who staid with the three bashaws, briefly explained to them his master’s refusal, which indeed they had sufficiently understood by his profound silence.

‘ The grand vizier was not to be diverted from his purpose: he ordered Ishmael bashaw, the new seraskier of Bender, to threaten the king with the sultan’s indignation, if he did not immediately come to some resolution. This seraskier was a man of a mild temper and engaging address, which had gained him the good will of Charles, and the friendship of all the Swedes. The king entered into a conference with him, but it was only to tell him, that he would not depart ’till Achmet had granted him two favors: the punishment of his grand vizier, and a hundred thousand men to conduct him back to Poland.

‘ Baltagi Mehemet was sensible that Charles remained in Turkey only to ruin him. He therefore took care to place guards in all the roads from Bender to Constantinople, to intercept the king’s

J.C. 1711.
Heg. 1123. king's letters. He did more; he retrenched his
thaïm, that is to say, the provision which the Porte allows those princes to whom it grants an asylum. That of the king of Sweden was immense, consisting of sixty-three guineas a day in money, and a profusion of every thing necessary to maintain a court in splendor and affluence.

When he
is in want
of every
thing, he
increases
his magni-
ficence.

' As soon as the king was informed that the vizier had presumed to retrench his allowance, he turned to the steward of his household and said: " Hitherto you have only had two tables, I command you to have four for the future."

' Charles XII.'s officers had been used to find nothing impossible which their master ordered; at present however they had neither money nor provisions. They were forced to borrow at twenty, thirty, and forty *per cent.* of the officers, servants, and janissaries, who were grown rich by the king's profusion. Fabricius the envoy of Holstein, Jeffreys the English minister, and their secretaries and friends, gave all they had. The king, with his usual magnificence, and without any concern about the morrow, lived on these presents, which could not have sufficed him long. It was necessary to elude the vigilance of the guards, and to send privately to Constantinople to borrow money of the European merchants. But every body refused to lend a king who seemed to have put himself out of a condition of ever being able to repay them. One English merchant alone, called Cook, ventured to lend him

about

about five thousand pounds sterling, contented to J.C. 1711.
lose that sum if the king of Sweden should happen to die. This money was brought to the Heg. 1123.
king's little camp just as they began to be in want of every thing, and even to give over all hopes of any further relief.

‘ During this interval, count Poniatowski wrote, even from the camp of the grand vizier, an account of the campaign at Pruth, in which he accused Baltagi Mehemet of perfidy and cowardice. An old janiffary, provoked at the vizier’s weakness, and gained moreover by Poniatowski’s liberality, undertook the delivery of the letter, and, having obtained a furlough, presented it himself to the sultan.

‘ A few days after, Poniatowski left the camp, and repaired to the Ottoman Porte, to form cabals as usual against the grand vizier. Every thing favored his project. The czar being now at liberty, was in no haste to perform his engagements. The keys of Asoph were not yet come ; the grand vizier, who was answerable for them, justly dreading the indignation of his master,* durst not venture to appear in his presence.

VOL. IV.

X

‘ At

* This minister, full of impatience, sent for the Russian hostages, and, after the severest reproaches on account of the non-performance of the treaty, he said to them : “ My having trusted to your master is likely to cost me my life ; but I will have the consolation to see you perish before me.” The hostages, frightened, desired two months, in order to give notice to their master, and for the full execution of the treaty. Baltagi Mehemet was deposed before the expiration of these two months. AUTHOR.

J.C. 1712.
Heg. 1124.

Intrigues
of the
seraglio.

' At that time the seraglio was filled more than ever with intrigues and factions. These cabals, which prevail in all courts, and which in ours commonly end in the dismissal, or, at most, in the banishment of the minister, never fail at Constantinople to occasion the loss of more than one head. The present plot cost the old vizier Chour-louli his life, and also Osman, the lieutenant of Baltagi Mehemet, who had been the principal author of the peace at Pruth, and had afterward obtained a considerable post at the Porte. Among Osman's treasures were found the czarina's ring, and twenty thousand pieces of gold of Saxon and Russian coin; a plain proof that money alone had extricated the czar from his dangerous situation, and ruined the fortune of Charles XII. The vizier Baltagi Mehemet was banished to the the isle of Lemnos, where he died three years after. The sultan did not seize his effects, either at his banishment or at his death. He was far from being rich, and his poverty was a sufficient vindication of his character.

A slave
made vizier.

' This grand vizier was succeeded by Jussuf, (that is Joseph) whose fortune was as singular as that of his predecessors. Born on the frontiers of Moscovy, and taken prisoner at six years old, with his relations, he had been sold to a janissary. He was long a servant in the seraglio, and at last became the second person in the empire where he had been a slave; but he was only the shadow of a minister.

' The

‘ The young sultan, Ali Coumourgi, raised J.C. 1712.
him to that slippery post, in hopes of one day ^{Heg. 1124.}
filling it himself; and Jussuf, his creature, had
nothing to do but to set the seals of the empire
to whatever the favorite desired.* From the very
beginning of this vizier’s ministry, the politics of
the Ottoman court seemed to undergo a total
alteration. The czar’s plenipotentiaries, who re-
sided at Constantinople both as ministers and
hostages, were treated with greater civility than
ever. The grand vizier confirmed with them the
peace of Pruth; but what mortified the king of
Sweden more than all the rest was, to hear, that
the secret alliance made with the czar at Constan-
tinople was brought about by the mediation of
the English and Dutch ambassadors.

‘ Constantinople, from the time of Charles’s
retreat to Bender, was become, what Rome had
often been, the centre of the negotiations of
Christendom. Count Desalleurs, the French am-
bassador at the Porte, supported the interests of
Charles and Stanislaus; the emperor of Germany’s
minister opposed them; and the factions of Swe-
den and Moscovy clashed, as those of France and
Spain have long done at the court of Rome.

‘ England and Holland seemed to be neuter,
but were not so in reality. The new trade which
the czar had opened at Petersburg attracted the
attention of these two commercial nations.

* Without doubt Sarai Li Kaden was then dead, or disgraced. We have
not been able to find any more traces of her power, or of her. AUTHOR.

J.C. 1712.
Heg. 1124.

“ The English and Dutch will always side with that prince who favors their trade the most: there were many advantages to be derived from a connexion with the czar; and therefore it is no wonder that the ministers of England and Holland should serve him privately at the Ottoman Porte. One of the conditions of this new alliance was, that Charles should be immediately obliged to quit the dominions of the Turkish empire: whether it was that the czar hoped to seize him on the road, or that he thought him less formidable in his own kingdom than in Turkey, where he was always on the point of arming the Ottoman troops against the Russian empire.

The sultan
orders
Charles to
depart.

“ The king of Sweden was perpetually soliciting the Porte to send him back through Poland with a numerous army. The divan was resolved to send him back with a simple guard of seven or eight thousand men, not as a king whom they meant to assist, but as a guest of whom they wanted to get rid. For this purpose the sultan Achmet wrote him the following letter.

“ Most powerful among the kings that adore
“ Jesus, addresser of wrongs and injuries, and
“ protector of justice in the ports and republics
“ of the south and north, shining in majesty,
“ lover of honor and glory, and of our sublime
“ Porte, Charles, king of Sweden, whose enter-
“ prises may God crown with success.

“ As soon as the most illustrious Achmet, for-
“ merly chiau pachi, shall have the honor to
“ deliver

" deliver you this letter, adorned with our imperial seal, be persuaded and convinced of the truth of our intentions therein contained, to wit, that though we had proposed once more to march our ever victorious army against the czar; yet that prince, in order to avoid the just resentment which we had conceived at his delaying to execute the treaty concluded on the banks of the Pruth, and afterward renewed at our sublime Porte, having surrendered into our hands the castle and town of Asoph, and endeavoured, by the mediation of the English and Dutch ambassadors, our ancient allies, to cultivate a lasting peace with us, we have granted his request, and delivered to his plenipotentiaries, who remain with us as hostages, our imperial ratification, after having received his from their hands.

" We have given to the most honorable and valiant Delvet Gerai, khan of Budziack, Crimea, Nogai, and Circassia, and to our most wise counsellor and noble serafkier of Bender, Ishmael, (the magnificence and wisdom of whom may God preserve and increase,) our inviolable and salutary orders for your return through Poland, according to your first intention, which has again been represented to us in your name. You must therefore prepare to set out next winter under the protection of Providence, and with an honorable escort, in order to return to your own territories, taking care

J.C. 1712. " care to pass through those of Poland in a
 Heg. 1124. " friendly manner.

" Whatever is necessary for your journey shall
 " be furnished you by my sublime Porte, as well
 " in money as in men, horses, and waggons.
 " Above all things we advise and exhort you to
 " give the most particular and express orders to all
 " the Swedes and other persons in your retinue,
 " to commit no outrage, nor to be guilty of any
 " action that may tend, either directly or indi-
 " rectly, to break this peace and alliance.

" By these means you will preserve our good
 " will, of which we shall endeavour to give you
 " as great and as frequent proofs as we shall have
 " opportunities. The troops designed to attend
 " you shall receive orders agreeably to our im-
 " perial intentions.

" Given at our sublime Porte of Constantinople
 " the 14th of the moon Rebyul Eureh, 1124
 " (which answers to the 19th of April 1712)."

He refuses to comply. " This letter did not deprive the king of Swe-
 den of all hopes. He wrote to the sultan, that
 he should ever retain a grateful remembrance of
 the favors his highness had bestowed upon him;
 but that he believed the sultan was too just to
 send him back with the simple escort of a flying
 camp into a country that still swarmed with the
 czar's troops. And indeed the emperor of Russia,
 notwithstanding the first article of the treaty of
 Pruth, by which he had engaged to withdraw all
 his troops from Poland, had sent fresh ones into
 that

that kingdom; and what seems astonishing is, J.C. 1712.
Heg. 1124. that the grand seignior knew nothing of it.

‘ The bad policy of the Porte, in being so much guided by the motives of vanity as to allow Christian princes to have ambassadors at Constantinople, without ever sending a single agent to any Christian court, gives the latter an opportunity of discovering, and sometimes of directing, the most secret resolutions of the sultan, and keeps the divan in a profound ignorance of what passes in the Christian world.’

‘ The sultan, shut up in his seraglio, among his women and eunuchs, can only see with the eyes of his grand vizier. That minister, as inaccessible as his master, his time wholly engrossed with the intrigues of the seraglio, and having no foreign correspondence, is commonly deceived himself, or else deceives the sultan, who deposes or causes him to be strangled for the first offence, in order to choose another minister as ignorant or as perfidious, who behaves like his predecessors, and soon shares the same fate.

‘ So great, for the most part, is the inactivity and supine negligence of this court, that, were the Christian princes to combine against it, their fleets might be at the Dardanelles and their land forces at the gates of Adrianople, before the Turks would think of taking any measures for their defence; but their jarring interests, that must ever divide the Christian world, will preserve the Turks from a fate to which they seem at present exposed,

J.G. 1712.
Heg. 1124. exposed, by their want of policy, and by their ignorance of the art of war, both by sea and land.

' So little was Achmet acquainted with what passed in Poland, that he sent an aga to inquire if it were true that the czar's troops were still in that country. The aga was accompanied by two secretaries of the king of Sweden, who understood Turkish, and were to serve as evidences against him, in case he should give in a false report.

' The aga saw the Russian forces with his own eyes, and informed the sultan of every particular. Achmet, fired with indignation, was going to have the grand vizier strangled; but the favorite, who protected him, and who thought he should have further occasion for him, obtained his pardon, and supported him some time longer in the ministry.

' The cause of the Russians was openly espoused by the vizier, and secretly favored by Ali Coumourgi, who had changed sides. But the sultan was so provoked, the infraction of the treaty was so manifest, and the janissaries, who often make the ministers, the favorites, and even the sultans tremble, called out for war with so much importunity, that no one in the seraglio durst offer a more moderate proposal.

He hopes
to arm the
Turks in
his favor. ' The grand seignior immediately ordered the Russian ambassadors to be committed to the Seven Towers, who were already as much accustomed to go to prison as to an audience. War was declared anew against the czar, the horse-tails were displayed, and orders were given to all the bashaws

bashaws to assemble an army of two hundred thousand men. The sultan himself quitted Constantinople, and fixed his court at Adrianople, that he might be so much the nearer to the seat of the war.

‘ Meanwhile a solemn embassy, sent to the grand seignior by Augustus and the republic of Poland, was upon the road to Adrianople. The palatine of Massovia was at the head of this embassy, with a retinue of above three hundred persons.

‘ All the members of the embassy were seized and imprisoned. Never was the king of Sweden’s party more highly flattered than on this occasion; and yet these great preparations were rendered abortive, and all their hopes were again disappointed.

‘ If we may believe a public minister, a man of sagacity and penetration, who then resided at Constantinople, young Coumourgi had already formed other designs than that of disputing a desert country with the czar of Moscovy, by a war the event of which must have been so uncertain. He had resolved to strip the Venetians of Peloponnesus, now called the Morea, and to make himself master of Hungary.

‘ These projects he proposed to carry into execution, as soon as he should have attained the post of grand vizier, from which he was still excluded on account of his youth. In this view it was more for his advantage to be the ally than the

J.C. 1712. enemy of the czar. It was neither his interest
Heg. 1124. nor his inclination to keep the king of Sweden any longer, and much less to arm the Turkish empire in his favor. He not only resolved to dismiss that prince, but he openly declared, that, for the future, no Christian minister should be allowed to reside at Constantinople; that all the common ambassadors were at best but honorable spies, who corrupted or betrayed the viziers, and had too long influenced the intrigues of the seraglio; and that the Franks settled at Pera and in the sea ports of the Levant were merchants who needed a consul only, and not an ambassador. The grand vizier, who owed his post and even his life to the favorite, and who besides stood greatly in awe of him, complied with his intentions with so much the more alacrity, as he had sold himself to the Russians, and hoped by this mean to be revenged on the king of Sweden, who had endeavoured to ruin him. The mufti, a creature of Ali Coumourgi, was likewise an absolute slave to his will. He had been a keen advocate for a war with Russia, when the favorite was of that opinion; but the moment this young man changed his mind, he pronounced it to be unjust: thus the army was hardly assembled when they began to listen to proposals of peace. The vice-chancellor Schaffirof, and young Czeremetof, the czar's plenipotentiaries at the Porte, promised, after several negotiations, that their master should withdraw his troops from Poland. The grand vizier, who well

well knew that the czar would never execute this ^{J.C. 1712.}
^{Heg. 1124.} treaty, made no scruple to sign it; and the sultan, satisfied with having, though only in appearance, imposed laws upon the Russians, continued still at Adrianople. Thus, in less than six months, peace was ratified with the czar, war declared, and peace renewed again.

' The chief purport of all these treaties was to oblige the king of Sweden to depart. The sultan was unwilling to endanger his own honor, and that of the Ottoman empire, by exposing the king to the risk of being taken by his enemies on the road. It was stipulated that he should depart; but only on condition that the ambassadors of Poland and Moscovy should be responsible for the safety of his person. Accordingly these ambassadors swore, in the name of their masters, that neither the czar nor the king of Poland should molest him in his journey; and Charles was to engage on his side that he would not attempt to excite any commotions in Poland. The divan having thus settled the fate of Charles, Ishmael, seraskier of Bender, repaired to Vernitzza, where the king was encamped, and acquainted him with the resolutions of the Porte, insinuating to him with great politeness, that there was no time for any longer delay, but that he must necessarily depart. Charles made no other answer than this, that the grand seignior had promised him an army, and not an escort, and that kings ought to keep their word.

The Porte
insists on
his quit-
ting Tur-
key.

J.C. 1712.
Heg. 1124.

Meanwhile general Fleming, the minister and favorite of Augustus, carried on a secret correspondence with the khan of Tartary and the se-raskier of Bender. La Mare, a French gentleman, a colonel in the service of Saxony, had gone several times from Bender to Dresden; and all these journeys were strongly suspected.

At this very time the king of Sweden caused a courier, whom Fleming had sent to the Tatarian prince, to be arrested on the frontiers of Walachia. The letters were brought to him and decyphered; and from them it clearly appeared, that a correspondence was carried on between the Tartars and the court of Dresden; but the letters were conceived in such ambiguous and general terms, that it was difficult to discover whether the intention of Augustus was only to detach the Turks from the interest of Sweden, or if he meant that the khan should deliver Charles to the Saxons as he conducted him back to Poland.

We can hardly imagine, that a prince so generous as Augustus, would, by seizing the person of the king of Sweden, endanger the lives of his ambassadors, and of three hundred Polish gentlemen, who were detained at Adrianople as pledges for Charles's safety. But it is well known, on the other hand, that Fleming, the minister of Augustus, and who had an absolute power over his master, was a man devoid of every principle of virtue or honor. The injuries which the elector had received from the king of Sweden might

seem

seem to excuse any kind of revenge ; and it might J.C. 1712.
Heg. 1124. be thought, that, if the court of Dresden could buy Charles from the khan of the Tartars, they would find it no difficult matter to purchase the liberty of the Polish hostages at the Ottoman Porte.

‘ These reasons were carefully canvassed by the king, Mullern his privy-chancellor, and Grothusen his favorite. They read the letters again and again ; and their unhappy condition making them more suspicious, they resolved to believe the worst.

‘ A few days after, the king was confirmed in his suspicions by the sudden departure of count Sapieha, who had taken refuge with him, and now left him abruptly, in order to go to Poland to throw himself into the arms of Augustus. Upon any other occasion he would have considered Sapieha only as a malecontent ; but in his present delicate situation he at once concluded him to be a traitor. The repeated importunities with which he was pressed to depart, converted his suspicions into certainty. The inflexible obstinacy of his temper, co-operating with these circumstances, confirmed him in the opinion that they intended to betray him, and deliver him up to his enemies, though this plot has never been fully proved.

‘ Perhaps he was wrong in supposing that Augustus had made a bargain with the Tartars for his person ; but he was much more deceived in relying on the assistance of the Ottoman court. Be that as it may, he resolved to gain time.

‘ He

He is afraid he shall be delivered to king Augustus.

J.C. 1712.
Heg. 1124.

He told the bashaw of Bender, that he could not depart 'till he had received money to discharge his debts; for though his thaim had for a long time been duly paid, his unbounded liberality had always obliged him to borrow. The bashaw asked him how much he wanted. The king replied, at a venture, a thousand purses, amounting to sixty-two thousand five hundred pounds sterling. The bashaw acquainted the Porte with his request: the sultan, instead of a thousand purses, which Charles had required, granted him twelve hundred, and wrote the bashaw the following letter.

Fresh order
from the
grand seig-
nior to
make
Charles
depart.

" The design of this imperial letter is to acquaint you, that upon your representation and request, and upon that of the most noble Delvet Gerai khan, to our sublime Porte, our imperial munificence has granted a thousand purses to the king of Sweden, which shall be sent to Bender, under the care and conduct of the most illustrious Mehemet bashaw, formerly chiau pachi, to remain in your custody 'till the departure of the king of Sweden, whose steps may God direct, and then to be given him, together with two hundred purses more, as an overplus of our imperial liberality, above what he demands.

With regard to the route of Poland, which he is resolved to take, you and the khan, who are to attend him, shall be careful to pursue such wise and prudent measures as may, during the

“ the whole journey, prevent the troops under J.C. 1712.
“ your command, as well as those of the king of Heg. 1124.
“ Sweden, from committing any outrage, or be-
“ ing guilty of any action that may be deemed a
“ violation of the peace which still subsists be-
“ tween our sublime Porte and the kingdom
“ and republic of Poland; so that the king may
“ pass in a friendly manner under our protection.

“ By doing this, (which you must expressly
“ require him to do,) he will receive from the
“ Poles all the honor and respect that is due to
“ his majesty; as we have been assured by the
“ ambassadors of Augustus and the republic,
“ who, on this condition, have even offered
“ themselves, together with several others of the
“ Polish nobility and gentry, if required, as hos-
“ tages for the security of his passage.

“ When the time which you and the most
“ noble Delvet Gerai shall fix for the march is
“ come, you shall put yourself at the head of
“ your brave soldiers, among whom shall be the
“ Tartars, headed by the khan, and you shall
“ conduct the king of Sweden and his men.

“ And may it please the only God, the Al-
“ mighty, to direct your steps and theirs. The
“ bashaw of Aulos shall continue at Bender with
“ a regiment of spahis and another of janissaries,
“ to defend it in your absence. And in follow-
“ ing our imperial orders and intentions, in all
“ these points and articles, you will deserve the
“ continuance of our imperial favor, as well as
“ the

J.C. 1712. " the praise and recompense due to all those who
 Heg. 1124. ~~~~~ " observe them.

" Done at our imperial residence of Constan-
 tinople the second of the moon Cheval, 1124 of
 " the hegira."

' Whilst they were waiting for this answer from the grand seignior, Charles wrote to the Porte, complaining of the treachery of which he suspected the khan of the Tartars to be guilty; but all the passages were well guarded, and, besides, the minister was against him, so that his letters never reached the sultan. Nay, the vizier would not allow count Desalleurs to come to Adrianople, where the court then was, lest that minister, who was an agent of the king of Sweden, should endeavour to disconcert the plan he had formed for obliging him to depart.

He braves the Turkish emperor though almost a prisoner.
 ' Charles, enraged to see himself thus hunted, as it were, from the grand seignior's dominions, resolved not to quit them at all. He might have desired to return through Germany, or take shipping on the Black sea, in order to sail to Marseilles by the Mediterranean; but he rather chose to ask nothing, and to wait the event.

J.C. 1713. Heg. 1125. ' When the twelve hundred purses were arrived, his treasurer Grothusen, who, during his long abode in Turkey, had learned the language of the country, went to wait upon the bashaw without an interpreter, hoping to draw the money from him, and afterward to form some new intrigue at the Porte; foolishly supposing, as he always

always did, that the Swedish party would at last
be able to arm the Ottoman empire against the czar.

J.C. 1713.
Heg. 1125.

‘ Grothusen told the bashaw, that the king could not get ready his equipages without money: But (said the bashaw) we shall defray all the expences of your departure; your master shall be at no charge whilst he continues under the protection of mine.

‘ Grothusen replied, that the difference between the equipages of the Turks and those of the Franks was so great, that it would be necessary to apply to the Swedish and Polish artificers at Varnitz. He assured him that his master was willing to depart, and that this money would facilitate and hasten his departure. The too credulous bashaw gave him the twelve hundred purses; and, a few days after, came to the king, and, in a most respectful manner, begged to receive his orders for his departure. He was extremely surprised when the king told him he was not yet ready to go, and that he wanted a thousand purses more. The bashaw, confounded at his answer, stood speechless for a moment; then retiring to a window, he was observed to shed tears. At last, addressing himself to the king: “ I shall lose my head,” says he, “ for having obliged thy majesty: I have given thee twelve hundred purses against the express orders of my sovereign.” So saying, he took his leave with a dejected countenance; but the

J.C. 1713. ^{Heg. 1125.} king stopped him, and said, that he would make an excuse for him to the sultan. "Ah!" replied the Turk as he was going away, "my master has no idea of excusing faults, he knows only how to punish them."

Ishmael bashaw carried this piece of news to the khan of the Tartars, who having received the same orders as the bashaw, not to suffer the twelve hundred purses to be given to the king before his departure, and having consented to the delivery of the money, was as apprehensive as the bashaw of the grand seignior's indignation. They both wrote to the Porte in their own vindication, protesting they did not give the twelve hundred purses, but upon a solemn promise from the king's minister that he would depart without delay, and beseeching his highness not to impute the king's refusal to their disobedience.

He still demands money.

Charles, still persisting in the belief that the khan and the bashaw meant to deliver him up to his enemies, ordered Mr. Funk, who was then his envoy at the Ottoman court, to lay his complaints against them before the sultan, and to ask a thousand purses more. His great generosity, and the little value he set on money, hindered him from perceiving the meanness of this proposal. He did it with a view to be refused, and in order to find a fresh pretext for delaying his departure. But a man must be reduced to strange extremities, to stand in need of such artifices. avari, his interpreter, an artful, enterprising man,

man, carried the letter to Adrianople, in spite of J.C. 1713.
Reg. 1125.
all the care which the grand vizier had taken to
guard the passes.

Funk was obliged to present this dangerous request. All the answer he received was, to be thrown into prison. The sultan, in a passion, convoked an extraordinary divan, and, what very seldom happens, spoke himself on the occasion. His speech, according to the translation that was then made of it, was conceived in the following terms :

“ I hardly ever knew the king of Sweden but “ by his defeat at Pultoway, and by the applica-
“ tion he made to me to grant him an asylum
“ in my dominions. I have not, I believe, any
“ need of him, nor any reason either to love or
“ fear him. Nevertheless, without consulting
“ any other motive than the hospitality of a
“ Mussulman, and my own generosity, which
“ sheds the dew of its favors upon the great as
“ well as the small, upon strangers as well as my
“ own subjects, I have received and assisted him,
“ his ministers, officers, and soldiers, and, for the
“ space of three years and a half, have continued
“ to load him with presents.

“ I have granted him a considerable guard to
“ conduct him back to his own kingdom. He
“ asked a thousand purses to defray some ex-
“ pences, though I pay them all. Instead of a
“ thousand, I granted him twelve hundred.
“ After having gotten these out of the hands of

J.C. 1713. " the seraskier of Bender, he asks a thousand
 Hdg. 1125. " purses more, and refuses to depart, under pre-
 " tence that the escort is too small, whereas, in
 " fact, it is but too large to pass through the
 " country of a friend.

" I ask you then, whether it be a violation of
 " the laws of hospitality to send back this prince ?
 " and whether foreign powers ought to accuse
 " me of cruelty and injustice, in case I should be
 " obliged to compel him to depart ? "

' All the members of the divan answered, that
 such a conduct would be consistent with the
 strictest rules of justice.

' The mufti declared, that Mussulmen were
 not bound to shew any hospitality to infidels, and
 much less to the ungrateful ; and he gave his
 fetfa, a kind of mandate which commonly accom-
 panies the important orders of the grand seignior.
 These fetfas are revered as oracles, though the
 persons by whom they are given are as much
 slaves to the sultan as any others.

' The order and the fetfa were carried to Ben-
 der by the bouyouk imraour, grand master of the
 horse, and a chiau pachi, first usher. The bashaw
 of Bender received the order at the lodgings of
 the khan of Tartary, from whence he immedi-
 ately repaired to Varnitz, to ask the king whe-
 ther he would depart in a friendly manner, or lay
 him under the necessity of executing the sultan's
 orders.

Charles

* Charles XII. being thus menaced, could not restrain his passion. "Obey thy master if thou dare," says he to the bashaw, "and leave my presence immediately." The bashaw, fired with indignation, returned at full gallop, contrary to the common custom of the Turks; and meeting Fabricius by the way, he called out to him, without halting: "The king will not listen to reason; thou wilt see strange things presently." The same day he discontinued the supply of the king's provisions, and removed the guard of janissaries. He caused intimation to be made to the Poles and Cossacks at Varnitza, that if they had a mind to have any provisions, they must quit the king of Sweden's camp, repair to Bender, and put themselves under the protection of the Porte. These orders were readily obeyed by all, and the king was left without any other attendants than the officers of his household and three hundred Swedish soldiers, to make head against twenty thousand Tartars, and six thousand Turks.

* There was now no provision in the camp, either for man or horse. The king ordered twenty of the fine Arabian horses, which had been sent him by the grand seignior, to be shot without the camp, adding: "I will have none of their provisions nor their horses." This was an excellent feast to the Tartars, who, as all the world knows, think horse flesh delicious fare. Meanwhile the Turks and Tartars invested the king's little camp on all sides.

* Charles,

J.C. 1713.
Heg. 1125.

His rage.

J.C. 1713.
Heg. 1125.

*He re-
solves, with
a few ser-
vants, to
fight an
army.*

‘ Charles, without the least discomposure, ordered his three hundred Swedes to raise regular intrenchments, in which work he himself assisted; as did likewise his chancellor, his treasurer, his secretaries, his valets de chambre, and all his servants. Some barricaded the windows, and others fastened beams behind the doors, in the form of buttresses.

‘ After the house was sufficiently barricaded, and the king had ridden round his pretended fortifications, he sat down to chess with his favorite Grothusen, with as much tranquility as if every thing had been perfectly safe and secure. Happily Mr. Fabricius, the envoy of Holstein, did not lodge at Varnitza, but at a small village between that and Bender, where Mr. Jeffreys, the English envoy to the king of Sweden, likewise resided. These two ministers, seeing the storm ready to burst, undertook the office of mediators between the king and the Turks. The khan, and especially the bashaw of Bender, who had no inclination to offer any violence to the Swedish monarch, received the offers of these two ministers with great satisfaction. They had two conferences at Bender, in which the usher of the seraglio, and the grand master of the horse, who had brought the sultan’s order and the mufti’s fetfa, assisted.

‘ Mr. Fabricius* declared to them, that his Swedish majesty had good reason to believe that they

* The whole of this account is related by Mr. Fabricius in his letters.
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they designed to deliver him up to his enemies J.C. 1713.
in Poland. The khan, the bashaw, and all the
rest, swore by their heads and called God to wit-
ness, that they detested such a horrible piece of
treachery; and that they would shed the last drop
of their blood, rather than suffer even the least
disrespect to be shewn to the king in Poland;
adding, that they had in their hands the Russian
and Polish ambassadors, whose lives should be
answerable for any affront that should be offered
to the king of Sweden. In fine, they complained
bitterly that the king should entertain such in-
jurious suspicions of those who had received and
treated him with so much humanity and polite-
ness.

‘ Though oaths are frequently the language
of treachery; Fabricius could not help being con-
vinced of their sincerity. He thought he could
discern in their protestations such an air of vera-
city as falsehood can, at best, but imperfectly imi-
tate. He was sensible there had been a secret
correspondence between the khan of Tartary and
Augustus; but he was firmly persuaded that the
only end of their negotiation was to oblige
Charles XII. to quit the dominions of the grand
seignior. Whether Fabricius was deceived or not,
he assured them he would represent to the king,
the injustice of his suspicions. “ But,” adds he,
“ do you intend to compel him to depart?” “ Yes,”
says the bashaw, “ for such are the orders of our
“ master.” He then intreated them to consider
seriously

J.C. 1713. seriously whether that order implied that they
 Heg. 1125. should shed the blood of a crowned head. "Yes,"
 replies the khan, in a passion, "if that crowned
 " head disobey the grand seignior in his own
 " dominions.

" However, every thing being ready for the assault, the death of Charles XII. seemed inevitable. But as the sultan had not given them positive orders to kill him, in case of resistance, the bashaw prevailed upon the khan to let him dispatch an express to Adrianople, where the grand seignior then resided, to receive the last orders of his highness.

" Mr. Jeffreys and Mr. Fabricius having procured this short respite, hastened to acquaint the king with it. They came with all the eagerness of those who bring good news; but were received very coldly. He called them unsolicited mediators, and still persisted in the belief that the sultan's orders and the mufti's fetva were both forged, inasmuch as they had sent to the Porte for fresh orders.

" The English minister retired with a firm resolution to interfere no more in the affairs of a prince so very obstinate and inflexible. Mr. Fabricius, beloved by the king, and more accustomed to his humour than the English minister, remained with him, and earnestly entreated him not to hazard so precious a life on such an unnecessary occasion.

" For

‘ For answer, the king shewed him his fortifications, and begged he would employ his good offices in procuring him some provisions. The Turks were easily prevailed upon to allow provisions to be conveyed to the king’s camp, until the return of the courier from Adrianople. The khan himself had strictly enjoined his Tartars, who were eager for pillage, not to make any attempt against the Swedes ’till the arrival of fresh orders; so that Charles XII. went sometimes out of his camp with forty horse, and rode through the midst of the Tartars, who, with great respect, left him a free passage. He even marched directly up to their lines, which, instead of resisting, readily opened and allowed him to pass.

‘ At last the order of the grand seignior being come, to put to the sword all the Swedes that should make the least resistance, and not even to spare the life of the king, the bashaw had the complaisance to shew the order to Mr. Fabricius, with a view of inducing him to make his last effort, to bend, if possible, the obstinacy of Charles.

‘ Fabricius went immediately to acquaint him with these sad tidings. “ Have you seen the order you mention ? ” said the king. “ I have,” replied Fabricius. “ Well then, go and tell them “ in my name, that this second order is another “ forgery of theirs, and that I will not depart.” Fabricius threw himself at his feet, fell into a passion, and reproached him with his obstinacy;

J.C. 1713. but all to no purpose. “ Go back to your
 His obsti-
Heg. 1125. “ Turks,” said the king to him smiling; “ if
 nacy they attack me, I know how to defend myself.” The king’s chaplains likewise fell on their knees before him, conjuring him not to expose to certain death the unhappy remains of Pultoway, and especially his own sacred person; assuring him, at the same time, that resistance in such a case was altogether unjustifiable; and that it was a direct violation of all the laws of hospitality to resolve to continue with strangers against their will, especially with those strangers who had so long and so generously supported him. The king, who had heard Fabricius with great patience, fell into a passion with his priests, and told them, that he had taken them to pray for him, and not to give him advice.

‘ Generals Hord and Dardoff, who had always declared against hazarding a battle, which could not fail to be attended with fatal consequences, shewed the king their breasts covered with wounds, which they had received in his service; and assuring him they were ready to lay down their lives for his sake, begged that it might be, at least, upon a more necessary occasion. “ I know,” says Charles XII., “ by your wounds and by my own, that we have fought valiantly together. You have hitherto done your duty; do it to-day likewise.” Nothing now remained but to pay an implicit obedience to the king’s command. Every one was ashamed not

to court death with his sovereign. Charles being ^{J.C. 1713.} ~~Heg. 1125.~~ now prepared for the assault, enjoyed in secret the pleasing thoughts, that he should have the honor of sustaining, with three hundred Swedes, the united efforts of a whole army. He assigned to every man his post. His chancellor Mullern, and the secretary Empreus and his clerks, were to defend the chancery-house; baron Fief, at the head of the officers of the kitchen, was stationed in another post. A third place was to be guarded by the grooms and the cooks, for with him every one was a soldier. He rode from the intrenchments to his house, promising rewards to every one, creating officers, and assuring them that he would exalt the very meanest of his servants, who should fight with courage and resolution, to the dignity of captains.

‘ It was not long before they beheld the combined army of the Turks and Tartars advancing to attack this little camp, with ten pieces of cannon and two mortars. The horse-tails waved in the air; the clarions sounded; the cries of *Alla, Alla,* were heard on all sides. Baron Grothusen observing that the Turks did not mix in their cries any injurious reflections on the king, but only called him *demirbath*, i. e. iron-head, he instantly resolved to go out of the camp alone and unarmed; and having accordingly advanced to the lines of the janissaries, most of whom had received money from him: “ What then, my “ friends,” says he to them in their own lan-

J.C. 1713.
Heg. 1125.

guage, "are you come to massacre three hundred
 defenceless Swedes? You brave janissaries,
 who pardoned a hundred thousand Russians
 upon their crying *Amman*, i. e. pardon, have
 you forgotten the many favors you have re-
 ceived from us? and would you assassinate that
 great king of Sweden for whom you have so
 high a regard, and from whom you have re-
 ceived so many presents? All he asks, my
 friends, is but the space of three days; and
 the sultan's orders are not so strict as you are
 made believe."

The janis-
faries take
pity on
him.

These words produced an effect which Grossen himself could have little expected. The janissaries swore by their beards that they would not attack the king, but would grant him the three days he demanded. In vain was the signal given for the assault. The janissaries were so far from obeying, that they threatened to fall upon their leaders, unless they would consent to grant three days to the king of Sweden. They came tumultuously to the bashaw of Bender's tent, crying out, that the sultan's orders were fictitious. To this unexpected sedition the bashaw had nothing to oppose but patience.

He affected to be pleased with the generous resolution of the janissaries, and ordered them to return to Bender. The khan of the Tartars, a man of headstrong and impetuous passions, would have given the assault immediately with his own troops; but the bashaw, unwilling that

the

the Tartars should have all the honor of taking J.C. 1713.
Heg. 1125.
the king, while himself, perhaps, might be pu-
nished for the disobedience of the janissaries, per-
suaded the khan to wait 'till the next day.

‘ On his return to Bender, the bashaw assem-
bled all the officers of the janissaries, and the
oldest soldiers, to whom he both read and shewed
the sultan’s positive orders, and the mufti’s fetfa.
Sixty of the oldest of them, with venerable grey
beards, who had received numerous presents from
the king’s hands, proposed to go to him in person,
to intreat him to put himself into their hands,
and to permit them to serve him as guards.

‘ The bashaw agreed to the proposal, as indeed
there was no expedient he would not willingly
have tried, rather than be reduced to the necessity
of killing the king. Accordingly, these sixty
veterans repaired next morning to Varnitz, hav-
ing nothing in their hands but long white rods,
the only arms which the janissaries carry, unless
when they are going to fight; for the Turks con-
sider the Christian custom of wearing swords in
time of peace, and of entering armed into churches
and the houses of their friends, as a barbarous
practice.

‘ They addressed themselves to baron Grothu-
sen and chancellor Mullern. They told them,
that they were come with a view to serve as faith-
ful guards to the king; and that, if he pleased,
they would conduct him to Adrianople, where
he might have a personal interview with the
grand

J.C. 1713. grand seignior. Whilst they were making this
Heg. 1125. proposal, the king read the letters which were brought from Constantinople, and which Fabricius, who could no longer attend him in person, had sent him privately by a janissary. These letters were from count Poniatowski, who could neither serve him at Bender nor Adrianople, having been detained at Constantinople by order of the Porte, ever since the time of his making the imprudent demand of a thousand purses. He told the king, that the sultan's orders to seize or massacre his royal person in case of resistance were but too true; that indeed the sultan was imposed upon by his ministers, but the more he was imposed upon, he would, for that very reason, be the more faithfully obeyed; that he must submit to the times, and yield to necessity; that he took the liberty to advise him to try every expedient with the ministers by way of negotiations; not to be inflexible in a matter which required the gentlest management, and to expect from time and good policy a cure of that evil which, by rash and violent measures, would be only rendered incurable.

‘ But neither the proposal of the old janissaries, nor Poniatowski's letters, could convince the king that it was consistent with his honor to yield. He rather chose to perish by the hands of the Turks than in any respect to be made a prisoner. He dismissed the janissaries without condescending to see them, and sent them word, that, if they did

did not immediately depart, he would have their beards shaved for them: an affront, which, in the eastern countries, is considered as the most intolerable of all.

'The old men, filled with the highest indignation, returned home, crying out as they went: "Ah, this head of iron, since he will perish, let him perish." They gave the bashaw an account of their proceedings, and informed their comrades at Bender of the strange reception they had met with; upon which they all swore to obey the bashaw's orders without delay, and were as impatient to go to the assault, as they had been averse from it the day before.

'The word of command was immediately given. The Turks marched up to the fortifications: the Tartars were already waiting for them, and the cannon began to play. The janissaries on the one side, and the Tartars on the other, instantly forced the little camp. Hardly had twenty Swedes time to draw their swords, when the whole three hundred were surrounded and taken prisoners without resistance. The king was then on horseback, between his house and his camp, with generals Hord, Dardoff, and Sparre; and seeing that all his soldiers had suffered themselves to be taken prisoners before his eyes, he said, with great composure, to these three officers: "Come, let us go and defend the house; we will fight," adds he with a smile, "*pro aris et focis.*" Accordingly, accompanied by these

He defends himself with his grooms against ten thousand men.

three

J.C. 1713. three generals, he galloped up to the house, in
Heg. 1125. which he had placed about forty servants as sentinels, and which he had fortified in the best manner he could.

‘ The generals, accustomed as they were to the dauntless intrepidity of their master, could not help being surprised to see him resolve, in cold blood, and even with an air of pleasantry, to defend himself against ten pieces of cannon, and a whole army; nevertheless, they followed him, with some guards and servants, making in all about twenty persons.

‘ When they came to the door, they found it beset by the janissaries. Besides, two hundred Turks and Tartars had already entered by a window, and made themselves masters of all the apartments, except a large hall where the king’s servants had retired. Happily, this hall was near the door at which the king designed to enter with his little troop of twenty persons. He threw himself off his horse with pistol and sword in his hand, and his followers did the same. The janissaries fell upon him on all sides. They were animated with the promise which the bashaw had made of eight ducats of gold to every man who should only touch his clothes in case they could take him. He wounded and killed all those who came near him. A janissary, whom he had wounded, clapped his blunderbuss to his face, and had not the Turk’s arm been jostled, owing to the crowd that moved backwards and forwards

like

like waves, the king would certainly have been killed. The ball grazed upon his nose, and carried off part of his ear, and then broke the arm of general Hord, whose constant fate it was to be wounded by his master's side. The king plunged his sword into the janissary's breast. At the same time his servants, who were shut up in the great hall, opened the door to him. The king, with his little troop, sprang in like an arrow. They instantly shut the door, and barricaded it with whatever they could find. Thus was Charles XII. shut up in this hall with all his attendants, consisting of about sixty men, officers, guards, secretaries, valets de chambre, and servants of every kind.

' The janissaries and Tartars pillaged the rest of the house, and filled the apartments. "Come," says the king, " let us go and drive out these " barbarians ;" and putting himself at the head of his men, he, with his own hands, opened the door of the hall that led to his bed-chamber, rushed into the room, and fired upon the plunderers. The Turks, loaded with spoil, and terrified at the sudden appearance of the king, whom they had always been accustomed to respect, threw down their arms, leaped out at the window, or fled to the cellars. The king, taking advantage of their confusion, and his own men being animated with the success of this attempt, pursued the Turks from chamber to chamber ; killed or wounded those that had not made their escape ;

J.C. 1713. and in a quarter of an hour cleared the house of
Heg. 1125. the enemy.

‘ In the heat of the fight, the king perceived two janissaries who lay concealed under his bed; one of them he stabbed with his sword, the other asked pardon, by crying *Amman*. “ I give thee thy life,” said the king to him, “ on this condition, that thou goest and givest the bashaw a faithful account of what thou hast seen.” The Turk readily promised to do as he was bidden, and was allowed to leap out at the window like the rest.

‘ The Swedes, having at last made themselves masters of the house, again shut and barricaded the windows. They were in no want of arms. A ground room full of muskets and powder had escaped the tumultuary search of the janissaries. These they employed to good purpose. They fired through the windows almost close upon the Turks, of whom, in less than ten minutes, they killed two hundred. The cannon still played upon the house; but the stones being very soft, there were only some holes made in the walls, and nothing was demolished.

‘ The khan of the Tartars, and the bashaw, who were desirous of taking the king alive, being ashamed to lose so many men, and to employ a whole army against sixty persons, thought it most adviseable to set fire to the house, in order to oblige the king to surrender. They ordered some arrows, twisted about with lighted matches,

to be shot upon the roof, and against the doors J.C. 1713
Heg. 1125. and windows. In a moment the house was in flames. The roof all on fire was ready to tumble upon the Swedes. The king, with great calmness, gave orders to extinguish the fire. Finding a small barrel full of liquor, he took it up, and, with the assistance of two Swedes, threw it upon the place where the fire was most violent. At last he recollect^{ed} that the barrel was full of brandy; but the hurry, inseparable from such a scene of confusion, hindered him from thinking of it in time. The fire now raged with double fury. The king's apartment was reduced to ashes. The great hall where the Swedes were was filled with a terrible smoke, mixed with vortices of flame, that darted in at the doors of the neighbouring apartments. One half of the roof sunk within the house, the other fell on the outside, cracking amidst the flames.

“ In this extremity, a sentinel called Walberg ventured to cry, that they must surrender. “ What a strange fellow is this,” says the king, “ to imagine that it is not more glorious to be “ burnt than taken prisoner!” Another sentinel named Roffen, had the presence of mind to observe, that the chancery house, which was not above fifty paces distant, had a stone roof, and was proof against fire; that they ought to sally forth, take possession of that house, and then defend themselves to the last extremity. “ There is a “ true Swede for you!” cries the king, and em-

J.C. 1713. Heg. 1125. bracing the sentinel, he made him a colonel on the spot. "Come on, my friends," says he, "take as much powder and ball with you as you can, and let us take possession of the chancery, sword in hand."

The Turks
won't kill
him, and
take him
prisoner.

'The Turks, who all the while surrounded the house, were struck with fear and admiration, to see the Swedes continue in it, notwithstanding it was all in flames; but their astonishment was greatly increased when they saw the doors opened, and the king and his followers rushing out upon them like so many madmen. Charles and his principal officers were armed with sword and pistol. Every man fired two pistols at once the moment the doors were opened; and in the twinkling of an eye, throwing away their pistols, and drawing their swords, they made the Turks recoil above fifty paces. But in a moment after, this little troop was surrounded. The king, who was booted, as usual, entangled himself with his spurs, and fell. Twenty-one janissaries at once sprang upon him. He threw up his sword into the air, to save himself the mortification of surrendering it. The Turks carried him to the bashaw's quarters, some taking hold of his arms, and others of his legs.

'No sooner did the king see himself in their hands, than the violence of his temper, and the fury which such a long and desperate fight must have naturally inspired, gave place at once to a mild and gentle behaviour: not one word of impatience

patience dropped from his lips: not one angry ^{J.C. 1713.}
^{Heg. 1125.} look was to be seen in his face. He eyed the ~~the~~ janissaries with a smiling countenance, and they carried him off, crying *Alla*, with a mixture of respect and indignation. His officers were taken at the same time and stripped by the Turks and Tartars. It was on the 12th of February, 1713, that this strange event happened; an event that produced very remarkable consequences.*

‘ The bashaw of Bender, with great gravity, waited for Charles in his tent, attended by one Marco, an interpreter. He received his majesty in a most respectful manner, and entreated him to repose himself on a sofa; but the king, who did not so much as take notice of the Turk’s civilities, continued standing.

“ Blessed be the Almighty,” says the bashaw, “ that thy majesty is alive: I am extremely sorry “ that thy majesty obliged me to execute the “ orders of his highness.” The king, who was only vexed that his three hundred soldiers should

have

* Mr. Norberg, who was not present at this action, has, in this particular part of his history, only copied the account of Mr. Voltaire; but he has mangled it: he has suppressed some interesting circumstances, and has not been able to justify the temerity of Charles XII. All that he has been able to advance against Mr. Voltaire, with regard to the affair of Bender, is reduceable to the adventure of Frederick, valet de chambre to the king of Sweden, who, according to some, was burnt in the king’s house, and, according to others, was cut in two by the Tartars. La Mottraye alleges likewise, that the king of Sweden did not use these words: “ We will fight *pro aris et focis.*” But Mr. Fabricius, who was present, affirms, that the king did pronounce these words; that La Mottraye was not near enough to hear them; and that if he had, he was not capable of comprehending their meaning, as he did not understand a word of Latin. VOLTAIRE.

J.C. 1713.
Heg. 1125. have suffered themselves to be taken in their intrenchments, said to the bashaw : “ Ah ! had they defended themselves as they ought, our camp would not have been forced in ten days.” “ Alas !” says the Turk, “ that so much courage should be so ill employed ! ” He ordered the king to be conducted back to Bender on a horse richly caparisoned. All the Swedes were either killed or taken prisoners. All his equipage, his goods, his papers, and most necessary utensils, were either plundered or burnt. One might have seen in the public roads the Swedish officers, almost naked, and chained together in pairs, following the Tartars or janissaries on foot. The chancellor and the general officers did not meet with a milder fate : they were the slaves of the soldiers to whose share they had fallen.

Ishmael bashaw, having conducted Charles XII. to his seraglio at Bender, gave him his own apartment, and ordered him to be served like a king ; but not without taking the precaution to plant a guard of janissaries at the chamber door. A bed was prepared for him ; but he threw himself down upon a sofa, booted as he was, and fell fast asleep. An officer, that stood near him in waiting, covered his head with a cap ; but the king, upon awaking from his first sleep, threw it off ; and the Turk was surprised to see a sovereign prince sleeping in his boots, and bare-headed. Next morning, Ishmael introduced Fabricius into the king’s chamber. Fabricius found

found his majesty with his clothes torn; his ^{J.C. 1713.}
~~Heg. 1125.~~ boots, his hands, and his whole body, covered
with dust and blood, and his eye-brows burnt;
but still maintaining, in this terrible condition, a
placid, cheerful look. He fell upon his knees
before him, without being able to utter a word;
but soon recovering from his surprise, by the free
and easy manner in which the king addressed him,
he resumed his wonted familiarity with him,
and they began to talk of the battle of Bender
with great humour and pleasantry. “It is re-
“ported,” says Fabricius, “that your majesty
“killed twenty janissaries with your own hand.”
“Well, well,” replies the king, “a story, you
“know, never loses in the telling.” During
this conversation, the bashaw presented to the king
his favorite Grothusen and colonel Ribbins, whom
he had had the generosity to redeem at his own
expence. Fabricius undertook to ransom the
other prisoners. Jeffreys, the English envoy,
joined his endeavours with those of Fabricius, in
order to procure the money necessary for this
purpose. A Frenchman, who had come to Ben-
der out of mere curiosity, and who has written a
short account of these transactions, gave all that
he had; and these strangers, assisted by the inter-
est, and even by the money of the bashaw, re-
deemed, not only the officers, but likewise their
clothes, from the hands of the Turks and Tartars.

‘ Next day the king was conducted as a pris-
oner, in a chariot covered with scarlet, towards
Adrianople.

^{J.C. 1713.}
^{Heg. 1125.} Adrianople. His treasurer Grothusen was with him. Chancellor Mullern and some officers followed in another carriage. Several were on horseback; and when they cast their eyes on the king's chariot, they could not refrain from tears. The bashaw was at the head of the escort: Fabricius told him, that it was a shame to leave the king without a sword, and begged he would give him one. "God forbid," says the bashaw; "he would cut off our beards for us if he had such a weapon." However, he gave him one a few hours after.

^{King Stanislaus likewise a prisoner in Turkey.}

Whilst they were conducting this king, disarmed and a prisoner, who, but a few years before, had given law to so many states, and had seen himself the arbiter of the North and the terror of Europe, there appeared in the same place another instance of the frailty of human greatness. King Stanislaus had been seized in the Turkish dominions, and they were now carrying him a prisoner to Bender, at the very time that they were removing Charles XII. from it.

Stanislaus, being no longer sustained by the hand which had raised him to the throne, and being himself destitute of money, and consequently of interest in Poland, had retired at first into Pomerania; and, unable to preserve his own kingdom, he had done all that lay in his power to defend that of his benefactor: he had even gone to Sweden, in order to hasten the reinforcements that were so much wanted in Livonia and Pomerania.

rania. In a word, he had done every thing that J.C. 1713.
could be expected from the friend of Charles XII. Heg. 1125.

About this time, the first king of Prussia, a prince of great prudence, being justly apprehensive of danger from the too near neighbourhood of the Moscovites, thought proper to enter into a league with Augustus and the republic of Poland, in order to send back the Russians to their own country, and he hoped to engage the king of Sweden himself in this project. From this plan, three great events were expected to result: the peace of the North, the return of Charles to his own kingdom, and the establishment of a strong barrier against the Russians, whose power was already become formidable to Europe. The preliminary article of this treaty, upon which the public tranquility depended, was the abdication of Stanislaus; who not only accepted the proposal, but even undertook to use his endeavours in bringing about a peace which deprived him of his crown. To this step he was prompted by necessity, the public good, the glory of the sacrifice, and the interest of Charles XII. He wrote to Bender. He explained to the king of Sweden the desperate situation of his affairs, and the only effectual remedy that could be applied. He conjured him not to oppose an abdication which was rendered necessary by the strange conjunctures of the times, and honorable by the noble motives from which it proceeded. He entreated him not to sacrifice the interests of Sweden to those of an

J.C. 1713. unhappy friend, who chearfully preferred the
Heg. 1125. public good, to his own private happiness. Charles XII. received these letters at Varnitz. He said to the courier, in a passion, in presence of several witnesses: "If my friend will not be a king, I can easily find another that will."

Stanislaus was obstinately bent on making the sacrifice which Charles opposed. These times seemed to have been destined to produce strange sentiments, and still stranger actions. Stanislaus resolved to go himself, and endeavour to prevail upon Charles; and thus he ran a greater risk in order to abdicate the throne, than ever he had done to gain it. One evening about ten o'clock, he stole from the Swedish army, which he commanded in Pomerania, and set out, accompanied by baron Sparre, and another colonel, the former of whom has since been an ambassador in England and France. He assumed the name of a French gentleman, called Haran, who was then a major in the Swedish army, and lately died commander of Dantzick. He passed close by the whole army of the enemy; was sometimes stopped, and as often released by virtue of a passport which he got in the name of Haran. At length, after many perils and dangers, he arrived on the frontiers of Turkey.

As soon as he had reached Moldavia, he sent back baron Sparre to the army, and entered Jazy, the capital of Moldavia, thinking himself perfectly secure in a country where the king of Sweden

den had been treated with so much respect, and J.C. 1713.
never entertaining the least suspicion of what had
happened. The Moldavians asked him, who he
was. He said he was major of a regiment in the
service of Charles XII. At the bare mention of
that name he was seized and carried before the
hospadar,* who, having already learned from the
newspapers that Stanislaus had privately with-
drawn from his army, began to suspect that this
was the man. He had heard the king's figure
described so exactly, that it was very easy to dis-
cover the resemblance: an open and engaging
countenance, and a very uncommon air of sweet-
ness.

' The hospadar examined him, put to him a great many captious questions, and at last asked him, what commission he bore in the Swedish army. Their conversation was carried on in Latin. *Major sum*, says the king. *Imo, maximus es*, replied the Moldavian, and immediately presenting him with a chair of state, he treated him like a king; but still like a king who was a prisoner, placing a strict guard about a Greek monastery in which he was obliged to remain, 'till such time as the sultan's orders should arrive. At length these orders came, importing, that Stanislaus should be carried to Bender, from whence Charles XII. had been just removed.

' The news of this event was brought to the bashaw at the time he was accompanying the

* The hospadar is the next officer to the sovereign. AUTHOR.

J.C. 1713. king of Sweden's chariot. The bashaw communicated the particulars to Fabricius, who, coming up to Charles's chariot, told him, he was not the only king that was a prisoner in the hands of the Turks. "Run to him, my dear Fabricius," says Charles, without being in the least disconcerted; "tell him never to make a peace with Augustus, and assure him that our affairs will soon take another turn." So much was Charles wedded to his own opinions, that, abandoned as he was in Poland, attacked in his own dominions, a captive in a Turkish litter, and led a prisoner without knowing whither they were carrying him, he still reckoned on the favor of Fortune, and hoped the Ottoman Porte would assist him with a hundred thousand men. Fabricius hastened to execute his commission, attended by a janissary, having first obtained leave from the bashaw. At a few miles distance, he met the body of soldiers that conducted Stanislaus. He addressed himself to a person that rode in the middle of them, clad in a French dress, and but indifferently mounted, and asked him, in the German tongue, where the king of Poland was. The person to whom he spoke happened to be Stanislaus himself, whose features he could not recollect under this disguise. "What!" says the king, "don't you know me?" Fabricius then informed him of the wretched condition in which the king of Sweden was; but added, that his resolutions, however unsuccessful, were as determined as ever.

Charles re-
Heg. 1125.
mains in-
flexible and
always
fancying
he can
make
kings.

* As

As Stanislaus was drawing towards Bender, ^{J.C. 1713.}
^{Heg. 1125.} the bashaw, who had returned thither, after having accompanied Charles for some miles, sent the king of Poland an Arabian horse, with magnificent trappings. He was received at Bender amidst a discharge of the artillery; and, excepting his confinement, from which he was not as yet delivered, he had no great cause to complain of his treatment.* Meanwhile Charles was on his way to Adrianople. Nothing was talked of in that town but his late battle. The Turks at once condemned and admired him; but the divan was so provoked, that they threatened to confine him in one of the isles of the Archipelago. Stanislaus, king of Poland, from whom I had the honor to receive the greatest part of these particulars, assured me likewise, that a proposal was made in the divan for confining him in one of the islands of Greece; but the grand seignior's anger being assuaged, a few months after allowed him to depart.

Count Desalleurs, who could have taken his part, and might have prevented the Turks from offering such an affront to all Christian kings, was at Constantinople, as was likewise count Poniatowski. Most of the Swedes at Adrianople were in prison, and the sultan's throne seemed to
 be

* The good chaplain Norberg alleges, that we are here guilty of a manifest contradiction, in supposing that king Stanislaus was at once detained a prisoner, and treated as a king, at Bender. What! had not the poor man discernment enough to perceive, that it is very possible for a person, at one and the same time, to be loaded with honors and deprived of his liberty. VOLTAIRE.

J.C. 1713. be inaccessible to any complaints of the king of
Heg. 1125.

Sweden. The marquis of Fierville, who had resided with Charles at Bender as a private agent of France, was then at Adrianople. He undertook to do that prince a piece of service at a time when he was abandoned or oppressed by all the world besides. In this design he was happily assisted by a French gentleman, of an ancient family in Champaign, called Villelongue, a man of great courage, but who, not having a fortune equal to his spirit, and moreover charmed with the fame of the king of Sweden, had repaired to Turkey with a view of entering into the service of that prince. With the assistance of this young man, the marquis wrote a memorial in the king of Sweden's name, in which he made his majesty demand satisfaction of the sultan for the insult which, in his person, had been offered to all crowned heads, and for the treachery, real or supposed, of the khan and the bashaw of Bender. In this memorial he accused the vizier and other ministers of having received bribes from the Russians, imposed upon the grand seignior, intercepted the king's letters to his highness, and of having, by their artifices, extorted from the sultan an order so contrary to the hospitality of Musulmen, by which, in direct violation of the laws of nations, and in a manner so unworthy of a great emperor, they had attacked, with twenty thousand men, a king who had none but his ser-

A French
gentleman
presents a
petition to
the sultan
in behalf
of the king
of Sweden.

vants

vants to defend him, and who relied upon the sacred word of the sultan.

J.C. 1713.
Heg. 1125.

‘ When the memorial was drawn up, it was to be translated into Turkish, and written in a particular hand, and upon a certain kind of paper, which is always used in addresses to the sultan. For this purpose they applied to several French interpreters in the town ; but the affairs of the king of Sweden were in such a desperate situation, and the vizier was so much his declared enemy, that not a single interpreter would undertake the task. At length they found a stranger, whose hand was not known at the Porte, who, having received a handsome gratuity, and being fully assured of the most profound secrecy, translated the memorial into Turkish, and wrote it upon the proper sort of paper. Baron Arvidson, a Swedish officer, counterfeited the king’s subscription. Fierville, who had the royal signet, appended it to the writing, and the whole was sealed up with the arms of Sweden. Villelongue undertook to deliver it into the hands of the grand seignior, as he went to the mosque, according to his usual custom. The like methods had been frequently employed for presenting memorials to the sultan against his ministers ; but that very circumstance rendered the success of this enterprise the more precarious, and the danger of the attempt the more imminent.

‘ The vizier, who plainly foresaw that the Swedes would demand justice of the sultan, and who,

J.C. 1713.
Heg. 1125.
who, from the unhappy fate of his predecessors,
had but too many warnings to provide for his
own safety, had given peremptory orders to allow
no one to approach the grand seignior's person,
but to seize all such as should be about the
mosque with petitions in their hands.

'Villelongue was well apprized of this order,
and at the same time knew, that, by breaking it,
he should run the risk of losing his head. He
therefore laid aside his Frank's dress, and put on
a Grecian habit; and, concealing the letter in his
bosom, repaired betime to the neighbourhood of
the mosque to which the grand seignior resorted.
He counterfeited the madman; and, dancing be-
tween two files of janissaries, through which the
sultan was to pass, he purposely let some pieces
of money drop from his pockets, as if by chance,
in order to amuse the guards.

'When the sultan was drawing near, the guards
endeavoured to remove Villelongue out of the
way; but he fell on his knees, and struggled with
the janissaries. At last his cap fell off, and he
was discovered, by his long hair, to be a Frank.
He received several blows, and was very roughly
handled. The grand seignior, who was at no
great distance, heard the scuffle, and asked the
cause of it. Villelongue cried out with all his
might, *Amman! Amman!* Mercy! pulling the
letter out of his bosom. The sultan ordered the
guards to let him approach. Villelongue in-
stantly ran up to him, embraced his stirrup, and
presented

presented the memorial, saying, *Sued crall dan,* J.C. 1713.
Heg. 1125.
 The king of Sweden gives it thee. The sultan
 put the letter in his bosom, and proceeded to the
 mosque. Meanwhile Villelongue was secured,
 and imprisoned in one of the exterior apartments
 of the seraglio.

The sultan, having read the letter upon his
 leaving the mosque, resolved to examine the pri-
 soner himself. This perhaps will appear some-
 what incredible: nothing however is here ad-
 vanced, but what is vouched by the letters of Mr.
 Villelongue; and surely, when so brave an officer
 affirms any thing upon his honor, he merits, at
 least, some credit. He assured me, then, that
 the sultan laid aside his imperial garb and turban,
 and disguised himself like an officer of the janif-
 saries, a thing which he frequently does. He
 brought along with him an old man, of the isle
 of Malta, as an interpreter. By favor of this
 disguise, Villelongue enjoyed an honor which no
 Christian ambassador ever obtained. He had a
 private conference with the Turkish emperor for
 a quarter of an hour. He did not fail to represent
 the wrongs which the king of Sweden had suf-
 fered, to accuse the ministers, and to demand
 satisfaction; and all this with so much the more
 freedom, as, in talking to the sultan, he was only
 supposed to be talking to his equal. He could
 easily discover, notwithstanding the darkness of
 the prison, that it was no other than the grand
 seignior himself; but this discovery only made

He has a
 conversa-
 tion with
 the sultan.
 This,
 however
 strange, is
 true.

J.C. 1713. him speak with the greater boldness. The pre-
 Heg. 1125. tended officer of the janissaries said to Villelongue :
 " Christian, be assured that the sultan, my master,
 " has the soul of an emperor ; and that thy king
 " of Sweden, if he has reason on his side, shall
 " obtain justice." Villelongue was soon set at
 liberty ; and, in a few weeks after, a sudden
 change took place in the seraglio, which the
 Swedes attributed to this conference alone. The
 mufti was deposed ; the khan of the Tartars was
 banished to Rhodes ; and the seraskier bashaw of
 Bender was confined in one of the isles of the
 Archipelago.

The Ottoman Porte is so subject to these revolutions, that it is hard to say whether the sultan really meant to gratify the king of Sweden by these sacrifices. From the treatment which that prince received, it cannot surely be inferred that the Porte had any great inclination to oblige him. The favorite, Ali Coumourgi, was suspected of having brought about all these changes, in order to serve his own particular views. The khan of the Tartars and the seraskier of Bender were said to have been banished for giving the king of Sweden the twelve hundred purses, in contradiction to the express orders of the grand seignior. Coumourgi raised to the throne of Tartary the brother of the deposed khan, a young man of his own age, who had little regard for his brother, and upon whom the favorite depended greatly in prosecuting the wars he had already planned.

With

With respect to the grand vizier Jussuf, he was not deposed 'till some weeks after; and the title of prime minister was bestowed on Solyman ba-shaw. Truth obliges me to declare, that Mr. Villelongue and several Swedes assured me, that all these great revolutions at the Porte were entirely owing to the letter which was presented to the sultan in the king's name; whereas the marquis of Fierville is of a quite contrary opinion. I have sometimes found the like contradictions in such papers as have been submitted to my perusal. In all these cases, it is the duty of a historian honestly to relate the plain matter of fact, without endeavouring to dive into the motives; and to confine himself to the relation of what he does know, instead of indulging his fancy in vague conjectures about what he does not know.

Meanwhile Charles XII. was conducted to the little castle of Demirtash, in the neighbourhood of Adrianople. An innumerable multitude had crowded to this place to see his majesty arrive, who was carried from his chariot to the castle on a sofa; but Charles, in order to conceal himself from the view of the populace, put a cushion upon his head.

The Porte was strongly solicited to allow him to reside at Demotica. Coumourgi said to the grand vizier Solyman: "Go and tell the king of Sweden, that he may stay at Demotica all his life long, if he pleases; but I will answer for him, that, in less than a year, he will want

J.C. 1713. " to be gone of his own accord. Take care,
Heg. 1125, " however, not to give him any money."

' Thus was the king conveyed to the little town of Demotica, where the Porte allotted him a considerable quantity of provisions for himself and his retinue ; but all the money they would grant him was three guineas a day, to buy pork and wine, two kinds of provisions which the Turks never furnish to others. The allowance of sixty guineas a day, which he had enjoyed at Bender, was entirely withdrawn.

' Hardly had he reached Demotica with his little court, when the grand vizier Solyman was deposed, and his place filled by Ibrahim Molla, a man of a high spirit, of great courage, and unpolished manners. It may not be amiss to give a short sketch of his history, that so the reader may be the better acquainted with the characters of all those viceroys of the Ottoman empire upon whom the fortune of Charles so long depended.

A common
sailor grand
vizier.

' He had been a common sailor 'till the accession of Achmet III. This emperor frequently disguised himself in the habit of a private man, of a priest, or a dervis, and slipped into the coffee-houses and other public places of Constantinople, to hear what the people said of him, and what were their opinions concerning the affairs of state. One day he overheard this Molla complaining that the Turkish ships never took any prizes, and swearing, that, if he were captain of a ship, he would never enter the port of Constantinople

tinople without bringing some vessel of the Infidels J.C. 1713.
Heg. 1125. along with him. Next day, the grand seignior ordered the command of a ship to be given him, and that he should be sent on a cruize. The new captain returned in a few days, with a Maltese bark and a galliot of Genoa. In two years time he was appointed captain-general of the navy, and at last grand vizier. As soon as he had attained his new post, he thought he could easily dispense with the interest of the favorite. In order to render himself the more necessary, he formed a scheme for beginning a war against the Russians; and with this view pitched a tent not far from the place where the king of Sweden resided.

' He invited his Majesty to come and see him, with the new khan of the Tartars, and the French ambassador. The king, whose pride rose with his misfortunes, considered it as a most intolerable affront for a subject to send him an invitation. He ordered his chancellor Mullern to go in his place; and, lest the Turks should not pay him charles, tho' in good health, keeps his bed ten months. that respect which was due to his royal person, or oblige him to condescend to any thing beneath his dignity, Charles, who was ever in extremes, took to his bed, which he resolved not to leave during his abode at Demotica. This resolution he kept for ten months, under pretence of sickness; chancellor Mullern, Grothusen, and colonel Dubens, being the only persons that were admitted to his table. They had none of the conveniences with which the Franks are usually provided:

^{J.C. 1713.} ~~Heg. 1125.~~ provided: all these they had lost at Bender; consequently it could not be expected that their meals were served with much pomp or elegance. In effect, they were obliged to serve themselves; and during the whole time, chancellor Mullern was cook in ordinary.

^{J.C. 1714.} ~~Heg. 1126.~~ Whilst Charles XII. was thus passing his time in bed, he received the disagreeable news of the desolation of all his provinces that lay without the limits of Sweden.

'Pomerania, all but Stralsund, the isle of Rugen, and some neighbouring places, being left defenceless, became a prey to the allies, and fell into the hands of the king of Prussia. Bremen was filled with Danish garrisons. At the same time the Russians over-ran Finland, and beat the Swedes, who, being now dispersed, and inferior in point of number, began to lose that superiority over their enemies which they had possessed at the commencement of the war.

'To complete the misfortunes of Sweden, the king resolved to stay at Demotica, and still flattered himself with the delusive hopes of obtaining assistance from the Turks, in whom he ought no longer to have reposed any confidence.

'Ibrahim Molla, that bold vizier who had been so obstinately bent on a war with the Russians, in opposition to the favorite, was strangled in one of the passages of the seraglio.

'The place of vizier was become so dangerous, that no one would venture to accept of it; and
of

of consequence it continued vacant for six months. J.C. 1714.
Heg. 1126.
At last the favorite, Ali Coumourgi, assumed the title of grand vizier. This measure gave a fatal blow to all the hopes of the king of Sweden, who knew very well what he had to expect from Coumourgi, as he had never received any friendly office from him, unless his interest and that of his majesty happened to coincide.

Charles had now been eleven months at Demotica, buried in sloth and oblivion. This extreme indolence, succeeding so suddenly to the most violent exercises, had at last given him the disease which he had formerly feigned. All Europe believed him dead ; the council of regency, which he had established at Stockholm when he left his capital, no longer received any dispatches from him. The senate came in a body to the princess Ulrica Eleanor, the king's sister, and entreated her to take the regency into her own hands, during her brother's absence. She accepted the proposal ; but finding that the senate wanted to force her to make a peace with the czar and the king of Denmark, who attacked Sweden on all sides ; this princess, well knowing that her brother would never approve of such a measure, resigned the regency, and wrote a full and circumstantial account of the whole matter to the king in Turkey.

He at length re-solves to depart.

The king received his sister's packet at Demotica. The arbitrary principles which he had sucked in with his mother's milk, made him forget

get

J.C. 1714.
Heg. 1126. get that Sweden had formerly been a free state,
and that, in ancient times, the management of
public affairs was conducted by the king and
Senate in conjunction. He considered this body as
no better than a parcel of menial servants, who
wanted to usurp the command of the house in their
master's absence. He wrote to them, that if they
pretended to assume the reins of government, he
would send them one of his boots, from which he
would oblige them to receive their orders.

*More def.
potic than
ever, tho'
in want
of every
thing.*

To prevent therefore these attempts, as he
thought them, upon his authority in Sweden, and
to defend at length his country, deprived of all
hopes of assistance from the Ottoman Porte,
and relying upon himself alone, he signified to
the grand vizier his desire of departing, and re-
turning by the way of Germany.

Count Desalleurs, the French ambassador,
who was charged with the affairs of Sweden,
made the proposal. "Well," replies the vizier
to the count, "did not I say that, in less than a
year, the king of Sweden would beg it as a
favor to be allowed to depart? Tell him, that
he may either go or stay as he pleases; but let
him come to a fixed resolution, and appoint
the day of his departure, that he may not
again bring us into such another scrape as that
of Bender."

The French ambassador softened the harsh-
ness of this answer, when he reported it to the
king. The day was accordingly fixed. But be-
fore

fore he would quit Turkey, Charles resolved to display the pomp of a great king, though involved in all the difficulties of a fugitive prince. He gave Grothusen the title of his ambassador extraordinary, and sent him, with a retinue of eighty persons, all richly dressed, to take his leave in form at the Porte.

' The splendor of this embassy was only exceeded by the meanness of the shifts which the king was obliged to employ, in order to collect a sum of money sufficient to defray the expence of it. Count Desalleurs lent him five thousand pounds sterling. Grothusen had agents at Constantinople, who borrowed in his name, at the rate of fifty *per cent.* interest, a hundred and twenty-five pounds of a jew, two hundred and fifty of an English merchant, and forty guineas of a Turk. By these means they procured wherewithal to enable them to act the splendid farce of the Swedish embassy before the divan. Grothusen received at Constantinople all the honors that the Porte usually pays to ambassadors extraordinary on the day of their audience. The design of all this parade was only to obtain money from the grand vizier; but that minister was inexorable.

' Grothusen made a proposal for borrowing forty thousand pounds sterling from the Porte. The vizier answered coldly, that his master knew how to give, when he thought proper; but that it was beneath his dignity to lend; that the king should be supplied with plenty of every thing for

J.C. 1714.
Heg. 1126.
his journey, in a manner worthy of the person
that sent him back; and that the Porte perhaps
might even make him a present in gold bullion,
though he would not have him depend upon it
for certain.

'At last, on the 1st of October, 1714, the king
of Sweden set out on his journey from Turkey.
A capigli pachi, with six chiaus, came to attend
him from the castle of Demirtash, where he had
resided for some days before. He presented
Charles, in the name of the grand seignior, with
a large tent of scarlet embroidered with gold, a
sword the handle of which was set with jewels,
and eight beautiful Arabian horses, with fine sad-
dles, and stirrups of massy silver. It is not be-
neath the dignity of history to observe, that the
Arabian groom, who took care of the horses, gave
the king an account of their genealogy; a custom
which has long prevailed among these people,
who seem to be more attentive to the nobility of
horses than of men; which, after all perhaps, is
not so unreasonable, as these animals, if the breed
is kept free from intermixture, are never known
to degenerate.

'The escort consisted of sixty waggons loaded
with all sorts of provisions, and three hundred
horse. The capigli pachi being informed that
several Turks had lent money to the king of
Sweden's attendants at an immoderate interest,
told his majesty that usury was forbidden by the
Mahometan law: he therefore entreated him to
liquidate

liquidate all these debts, and to order his resident <sup>J.C. 1714.
Heg. 1126.</sup> at Constantinople to pay no more than the principal. "No," says the king, "if any of my servants have given you bills for a hundred crowns, I will pay them, though they should not even have received ten."

"In order to shew the greater deference to their royal guest, the Turks made him travel by very short stages; but this slow and respectful motion was ill suited to the impatient spirit of the king. During the journey, he got up at three in the morning, according to his usual custom. As soon as he was dressed, he went himself and awoke the capiggi and chiaus, and began to march in the dark. This new manner of travelling disconcerted the Turkish gravity; but Charles took pleasure at their uneasiness, and said, that he should at least be a little revenged on them for their behaviour to him at Bender.

"About the time that Charles reached the frontiers of Turkey, Stanislaus was leaving them, though by a different road, and going into Germany, with a view of retiring into the dutchy of Deux-Ponts, a province bordering on the palatinate of Alsace and the Rhine, and which has belonged to the kings of Sweden ever since Charles X. the successor of Christina, united it to his crown.*

From the retreat of the king of Sweden into Turkey, to the war with the republic of Venice,

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E e 2

which

* Here ends the extract from the history of Charles XII. by Mr. Voltaire.

J.C. 1713.
Heg. 1125.

Execution
of the
princes of
Walachia.

which we are going to speak of, there is nothing important to be seen in the history of the Turks, but the execution of Brancovan, the deposed prince of Walachia, his wife, and four sons. This unfortunate family had reigned in Walachia for several generations, if it may be called reigning, to govern precariously an enslaved people, under the despotic authority of a monarch, whose ministers assume a superiority too real over princes whom the least dissatisfaction exposes to deposition, to captivity, and often to death itself. Brancovan had commanded the Walachians, whilst the grand vizier Baltagi made war against the Russians. The Turks suspected that this prince, who was a Greek Christian, secretly favored the czar, who was of the same religion, against a master that he hated. They said he had furnished the Russians with provisions, and refused to attack them. He had likewise sent money to the republic of Venice in the last war. Demetrius Cantimir, the new prince of Moldavia, was ordered to arrest this supposed culprit. Cantimir, after having sent the Walachian prince bound hand and foot to Constantinople, became soon more culpable than he; for he openly declared himself, as we have seen, for the czar against the Turks, who had just put him on the throne. Brancovan had two sons, hostages at the Porte; two others, who were serving in the army, repaired to Constantinople to assert the innocence of their father. The prisoner's wife,

wife, who was not the mother of these young J.C. 1714.
princes, came there likewise soon after. They Heg. 1126. were all arrested and conducted to the castle of the Seven Towers. Brancovan was reputed to possess great treasures. The accusations were multiplied against him : several Walachians came to Constantinople to accuse the father and children of extortions and cruelties. The immense profits that were hoped to be made by the confiscation, rendered these accusations probable. All these princes were put to cruel tortures, less to wrest from them the confession of their crime, than to know in what place they had hidden the gold which they were accused of having plundered from their subjects. The executioners could get very little information from them as to that. All six were condemned to be beheaded. The mufti had obtained that they should be granted their lives, if they would consent to turn Mussulmen. At first they all remained stedfast in their belief, and appeared at the place of execution with the most noble firmness. The children were executed in presence of their father ; three were beheaded without having shewn the smallest mark of weakness. The last, all covered with the blood of his brothers, promised to embrace Mahometanism, if they would spare his life. This forced abjuration retarded the execution, but it was of no service. On an account being given of it to the sultan, that prince said, he contemned a conversion which had no other motive than the

terror

J.C. 1714. terror of death. He ordered that the new Mus-
 fulman should be executed like his brothers.
 — Heg. 1126. The prince their father perished after them, ex-
 pressing the greatest grief at the weakness of his
 youngest son. His wife was strangled the last.
 This hideous spectacle filled with admiration,
 horror, and pity, all the Christians both Greek
 and Latin, even the Jews and Mussulmen, who
 were witnesses of it in great number. The fate
 of these unfortunate princes was compared with
 indignation with that of Demetrius Cantimir,
 who had delivered them to the Turks, and who,
 notwithstanding his being so recently loaded with
 favors by Achmet, had betrayed his benefactor,
 and was peaceably enjoying at the court of the
 czar the fruits of his perfidy.

A war
 against the
 Venetians
 is resolved
 on, in or-
 der to re-
 cover the
 Morea.

After the departure of the king of Sweden,
 Turkey enjoyed a profound peace; and the Ot-
 toman court, which for some years past was be-
 come the scene of intrigue, began to languish in
 repose. The young grand vizier grew tired of
 this inaction, which he thought dangerous for his
 master; for Achmet was not beloved, and the
 reflections of an idle soldiery on the depredations
 of the ministers, and on the sanguinary disposition
 of the sultan, might well produce great troubles.
 Measures were even taken to prevent some of
 these combustions, by stifling in time the sparks
 that might occasion them; for a bashaw of Da-
 mascus, being displeased with the seraskier of
 Natolia, whose command extended over his go-
 vernment,

vernment, had refused to send him the imposts J.C. 1714.
Heg. 1126. that he collected in his province, and had opposed with arms the repeated orders of his superior. The grand vizier, who repressed this sedition in the commencement by the execution of the bashaw of Damascus and some of his accomplices, saw or pretended to see that the Venetians were the authors of it, that they had sent arms to the bashaw of Damascus, and encouraged his revolt. The real crime of the Venetians was the possessing of the Morea. Coumourgi hoped to recover it, as the allied powers of that republic were all fatigued with war. The emperor Charles VI. had just concluded the treaty of Rastat with France, and his dominions wanted repose. Neither king Augustus of Poland nor the czar of Moscovy was tempted to take the field. The republic of Venice alone was not a formidable enemy for the Ottoman empire. Coumourgi persuaded his master to endeavour to recover this fine province, the loss of which had been so mortifying to all the true Mussulmen. Raschid effendi, the annalist of the reign of Achmet, reports, that, as the sultan shewed a repugnancy to break a sworn peace, on such a frivolous pretence, his grand vizier pressed him to consult the mufti, as all good Mussulmen ought to do before they begin any important enterprise. The chief of the law being called, told the prince, that he should address a fervent prayer to Heaven, then open the Alcoran, and seek the will of the Almighty

^{J.C. 1714.} ~~Heg. 1126.~~ mighty in the first passage of the sacred book
 that should present itself to him. Whether all
 was concerted between the grand vizier and the
 mufti, or that Providence had resolved in his de-
 crees that the Morea should return to the empire
 of the Mussulmen, the grand seignior fell on this
 passage: *You will take a country that produces deli-
 cious fruits; remember to treat its inhabitants kindly,
 making them pay the tribute, as it is just.*

^{J.C. 1715.} ~~Heg. 1127.~~ Nothing more was necessary to have the pre-
 parations of this great expedition hastened. The
 sultan went every day himself to the port and
 into the arsenals, encouraging the workmen and
 hastening the operations. The timarians of all
 the provinces were sent for, as likewise the odas
 of janissaries and spahis scattered about in several
 fortified places. It was evident that the Turks
 menaced some Christian power; but no one
 knew which. The number of vessels that were
 fitting out in the port gave reason to think that
 a maritime expedition was intended. It was ru-
 moured that the rock of Malta was the object of
 it. Coumourgi was not sorry that this opinion
 gained ground: he pleased himself at the security
 of his enemy, who did not appear to suspect even
 that they would break a treaty which necessity
 alone had made. The grand master of the Order
 of St. John of Jerusalem issued on this occasion a
 citation to all the knights, and took the greatest
 precautions to fortify his island. A little time
 after, a report having spread that the Porte was
 going

going to attack Hungary and the dominions of J.C. 1715.
the emperor Charles VI. the grand vizier was Heg. 1127.
afraid that this power would arm for its own safety and afterward lend its forces as auxiliaries to the republic of Venice; he persuaded the sultan to send an ambassador to Charles VI. to assure that prince of the fidelity of the Porte to all its engagements, and the desire which it had to continue on good terms with Germany. The emperor seemed satisfied with these protestations. But the report having spread throughout Europe that the Turks were preparing to make a descent upon the Morea, Charles VI. offered his mediation to engage the Venetians to satisfy the Porte for the complaints which that court so loudly made. The Turks, who feared confederates, were still less desirous of mediators. In vain did Charles VI. cause the sultan to be told, that, as guarantee of the treaty of Carlowitz, it belonged to him to know the difference that had arisen between the Venetians and the Porte: he could get no other reply from the divan than an assurance of inviolable fidelity.

Notwithstanding the good offices of Charles VI. the Turks declare war against the republic of Venice.

Coumourgi, believing himself sure that the German monarch, more interested in repairing his provinces than in protecting his allies, would not be so soon in a situation to begin a war, sent for the Venetian ambassador, Andrew Memmo, and, after making severe complaints against the senate of Venice, whom he accused of having assisted the rebels who had been punished more

J.C. 1715.
Heg. 1127. than three months before, declared plainly to the ambassador, that the Porte was resolved to recover the Morea; he accompanied this declaration with an apostrophe, which contained a disdainful sense for the republic.

The grand vizier accompanies this declaration with an apostrophe.

The Venetian ambassador is arrested.

Two able boxers, said he to the ambassador, having challenged each other, stripped to be more at their ease. The brother of one of them, who was a child without strength, but not without malice, took advantage of the combat to carry off the clothes of the adversary. The two champions shewed nearly equal force. But when the battle was over, one of them found himself deprived of his best garments. As he was crossing the town, almost naked, he met his robber impudently dressed in the theft which he had thought he might make without any risk. The boxer, irritated, seized the robber, stripped him, not without well beating him, and recovered with joy the clothes which he had lost. This is what the emperor my master hopes to do soon, added he; and he gives you twenty days to go and warn your republic of it. The ambassador withdrew confused, congratulating himself however, that, contrary to the usage of the Turks, he was to be sent back into his own country instead of being imprisoned; but his joy was but of short duration; for the second day after the audience, he was arrested, with most of his retinue, in order, as they told him, that he might answer for the subjects of the grand seignior who might

happen

happen to be in the Venetian dominions. This J.C. 1715.
Heg. 1127.
ambassador was conducted, first to the prison in
the arsenal, and afterward to the castle of the
Dardanelles.

Achmet, besides ninety sultanas and sixty gal-
leys which he had in the port of Constantinople,
and of which he had caused more than the half
to be recently built, had had time to assemble
two hundred thousand men, in Asia and Europe.
He divided his troops into three corps, one of
which, consisting of seventy thousand men, was
to make war with the Venetians; another to
cover the frontiers of Hungary, Transsylvania, and
Poland, in case any motions were made by the
ancient allies; and the third was intended to re-
main in the plains of Adrianople, under the eyes
of the monarch, both to recruit that which was
sent against the enemy, and to accompany the
prince in case circumstances should oblige him to
take the field. Venice, which was lulled into a
fatal security, had not time to levy troops suffi-
cient to resist the first efforts. Hierome Del-
phino, proveditor general of the Morea, had only
eight thousand men to defend all that country.
As soon as he learned that the Turkish fleet was
approaching, he distributed these few forces in
the places of most importance in his government,
such as Corinth, Napoli di Romania, Malvasia,
and Modon the castle of the Morea. His whole
naval force consisted only of eleven galleys very
badly equipped, and eight vessels. Fourteen

State of
the Otto-
man forces.
Weakness
of the
Venetians.

J.C. 1715. Venetian and Genoese men of war, and six Maltese galleys, came seasonably to his succour.
 Heg. 1127. He hoped, with this reinforcement, to hinder the debarkation of the Ottoman troops; but Dianun Coggia, who was then captain bashaw, and one of the best seamen the Turks have ever had, would not expose himself to a naval combat with vessels and sailors on which he could not depend.

The Morea is taken in one campaign.

Whilst the proveditor was waiting with his fleet in the port of Elsimino, to be in readiness to cover which either side should be most in need, the captain bashaw arrived before Cerigo, the ancient Cytherea. He found but little obstacle to his debarkation. The governor surrendered the place on the first summons. The captain bashaw caused it to be dismantled as soon as it had surrendered, and he transported two hundred families to Africa.

Meanwhile the grand vizier, with seventy thousand men, entered the isthmus of Corinth, and took that place while the captain bashaw made himself master of Napoli di Romania. All the towns of the Morea had soon the same lot. Never was there a conquest more sudden or more easy. It was principally owing to the flowness of the senate of Venice, who would never believe that the preparations of the Turks menaced the Morea, and to the resentment of the Greek Christians against the Latins. As the Greeks were greatly persecuted by the latter for the exercise of their rite, they wished to change master;

and

and they gave the Turks all the information in J.C. 1715.
Heg. 1127.
their power for attacking the places, surprising
the magazines, and penetrating into the country.

The advantages of the Turks in the Morea were feebly balanced by the bad success which the bashaw of Bosnia had in Dalmatia. Four sieges of small places, which he attempted successively, were all raised.

The winter was employed by the Venetians in J.C. 1716.
Heg. 1128.
soliciting the protection and succour of their ancient allies, and in getting some regiments from the Swiss, Grisons, and princes of Germany. They obtained no other succour from the pope, than permission to raise a tenth on their own clergy. With this money, and what they found in the public treasury, they raised thirty thousand troops; but the most important step was to make Charles VI. declare himself, as guarantee of the treaty of Carlowitz, which the Turks had infringed the first. The emperor of the West, whom the Venetian ambassador earnestly pressed to declare himself, consulted his council several times. Prince Eugene was strongly against abandoning the Venetians. He said, that the glory of the house of Austria was interested in the defence of allies who had faithfully fulfilled the conditions of the treaty with Leopold, and that the hereditary dominions of Charles VI. must necessarily be exposed by the progress of the Turks. It was clear that these Infidels, heretofore overcome by the confederate powers, were seeking

Charles
VI. re-
solves to
assist the
Venetians.

^{J.C. 1716. Heg. 1128.} seeking to divide them in order to beat them down one after another, and that they would attack Hungary, after having stripped the republic of Venice. Lewis XIV. too was dead, and the emperor did not seem to have any thing more to fear from France, which, in the embarrassment of a regency, was not likely to think of undertaking a foreign war. All these motives prevailed on Charles VI. It was resolved to send an army into Hungary, under the command of prince Eugene. They sent into this kingdom a great number of recruits, cannon newly founded, and ammunition. All the troops reduced at the peace of Rastat were recalled to their colours, and ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march by the month of April. The emperor signed a new treaty of alliance offensive and defensive with the republic of Venice.

<sup>Death of
Curdasca,
the valid
sultaneſſ.</sup>

The news of these preparations of war arrived at Constantinople when the sultan was overcome with grief at the recent death of the valid sultaneſſ, whom he had always greatly loved. Curdisca had enjoyed under two sultans her sons, Mustapha and Achmet, the greatest advantages which a woman can think of enjoying in Turkey; for the most beloved affaky may have more influence, but never so much authority as the mother of the emperor. Curdisca had had a great deal of both, and had made rather a good use of it. The riches which the valids dispose of, and which they often throw away in profusions and prodigalities,

prodigalities, were employed by Curdisca in building caravansaries and hospitals, and in digging wells in the deserts around Mecca, for the relief of pilgrims. It was not her fault, as we have seen, that her son Achmet did not powerfully assist Charles XII. king of Sweden. The reputation of this sultaness was more extensive in the Ottoman empire, than that of all the sultaness mothers, who 'till then had been known only by the factions which they had promoted and the commotions that they had occasioned without knowing why.

Achmet had not yet gotten the better of his grief, when the resident of the emperor of Germany signified to the reis effendi from his master, that if, by the 15th of May at furthest, an Ottoman minister did not arrive on the frontiers of Hungary, charged with a promise from the grand seignior to accept of the mediation of the emperor Charles VI. between the republic of Venice and him, the emperor of the West was determined to declare war against the Porte. The divan had already made great preparations. Temeswar had been repaired with great expence and quickness, as there was reason to expect that this would be the place first attacked. All the troops that were to compose the army marched from different places to Adrianople, where the grand seignior reviewed them; and having committed his fleet to the charge of the captain bashaw, to attempt the conquest of the isle of Corfu, he put a hundred and

The Ger-
mans de-
clare war
against the
Turks.

The em-
peror of the
east puts a
hundred
and fifty
thousand
men under
the com-
mand of
the grand
vizier.

J.C. 1716.
Heg. 1128. and fifty thousand men under the command of his grand vizier, who had never commanded, nor even served in any subaltern rank. But the favor and prosperity of Coumourgi had persuaded him that he was invincible.

A cadilef-
ker deposed
for speak-
ing against
the war.

It was even against the wishes of the ulema that he undertook this war. The effendis of the court said publicly, that it was infringing a solemn treaty which the Germans had no way broken; that God would not give his blessing to arms turned against a nation which had not merited to be looked upon as an enemy. These clamours became so common, that the grand vizier thought it necessary to stifle them. He assembled the divan, where he introduced all the mollacs of Adrianople. Having demanded of the mufti, with a tone of authority, if he would not give his fetfa to approve of the war against Infidels who presumed to protect the declared enemy of the Porte, the chief of the law replied with submission, and in a very few words, that his fetfa was ready, and he read it immediately. As no one was in haste to approve or blame it, Coumourgi ordered the premier cadilefker to give his opinion on what he had just heard. This cadilefker was a venerable old man, whose uprightness and perfect knowledge of morality had raised him, after much time, to the second place in the ulema. Mehemet effendi (that was his name) replied, that the Alcoran forbade the violation of treaties, and that the Mussulmen had always given the Giaurs the example

example of fidelity in this respect ; that the emperor of Germany justly demanded the execution of the treaty of Carlowitz, and that he offered to enter into an examination whether the Venetians or the Ottomans had first broken it, in order to render a necessary justice to those whom this treaty had made allies ; that if it were thought the Germans were enfeebled and ruined by their long wars with France, it should be likewise believed that God would punish ambition and rapacity ; that the old Ottomans had enlarged the bounds of their empire, by employing their arms in none but just wars ; that the true Believers not being excused from that fidelity to the Giaurs which they required from other people, they might be chastised by the arms which they had already found so formidable, as the Giaurs had formerly been chastised by them. The grand vizier, whom this discourse greatly enraged, endeavoured to justify the war ; but Mehemet effendi having constantly combated him with substantial reasons, the prime minister was reduced to use authority, the sole advantage which he had left, to impose silence on equity and justice. The old cadilesker was deposed, and all the ulema remained in that profound silence which fear imposes.

The grand seignior caused his troops to be preceded by a kind of manifesto, which he spread through all the provinces, the object of which was, to persuade that he was not the first infringer

Manifesto
of the
sultan.

J.C. 1716.
Heg. 1128. of the treaty of Carlowitz. It said, that he had
sent an ambassador to Vienna, to assure that court, that all the preparations which he was making menaced the Venetians only; that it was true the German resident had then offered the mediation of his master; that prince Eugene, the president of the council of war, had likewise offered it, as well as the English and Dutch ambassadors that of their nations; but that, though all of them had been accepted, the Venetians had nevertheless continued hostilities; that their fleet had wintered at Corfu, a town about two miles from the coast of the frontiers of the Ottoman empire; that at length on the intelligence which arrived from the confines of Hungary, of the extraordinary preparations which the emperor of the West was making, such as levies, assembling troops, establishing magazines, and building vessels on the Danube, the resident had been again pressed to declare himself; a fresh delay of thirty days had been given him to make a precise reply, and that, after two months' silence, he had thought fit to say verbally, that the ministers of the Porte had not given him any positive reply to the offer which he had made of the mediation of the emperor, or to the letters remitted by prince Eugene to the aga Ibrahim; that he had added several reasons equally weak, the conclusion of which had been, that the emperor having ancient engagements with the Venetians, he was obliged to support their interests; that at length he had said,
that

that since no precise answer was given him, a longer residence at the Porte was useless; and that he demanded permission to return to the emperor his master, a permission which had been granted him. One may judge, by this difference which the Turks make between the ministers of the emperor of Germany, when at war with him, and those of other powers, whom they retain in captivity, the consideration which they always have for a neighbour that they fear. This manifesto concluded with a copy of the letter written by prince Eugene to the grand vizier, and an order to all the bashaws and other governors of the Ottoman empire to hold themselves in a state of defence, without however doing any thing that might in the least prejudice the treaty of Carlowitz. The sultan declared also that, though his troops were filing off towards Belgrade, and his vessels entering the Danube, he had no intention to attack the emperor of the West, but solely to defend the territories and subjects of the Ottoman empire.

The presumptuous Coumourgi longed to engage prince Eugene; and this great general, who commanded no more than eighty thousand men, could not be deterred from fighting, by the consideration of the superiority of number, the Turks being neither so well disciplined nor commanded as the Germans. Ali Coumourgi was perhaps the only one in his army who did not remember the battle of Zenta. When the

The two
armies
meet at
Peterwa-
radin.

J.C. 1716. talents and experience of prince Eugene were
 Heg. 1128. cried up to him, he would reply with fire in his eyes: "I shall become a better general than he, " at his expence." The two armies having marched straight against each other, the first act of hostility happened at Carlowitz, in the very place where the peace had been so solemnly ratified seventeen years before. Count Palfi, who was ordered to go and reconnoitre the enemy, at the head of three thousand horse, to know if they had passed the Save, fell in with at Carlowitz a corps of seven thousand Turkish horse sent on the same errand. The Austrian general, though very inferior in number, made a good disposition and an honorable retreat. The Turks were never able to surround him; but they killed three hundred of his men and made some prisoners. Prince Eugene, who had not yet passed the Danube, ordered bridges of boats to be made with all diligence. Notwithstanding the skirmishes of the scouts of the Ottoman army, he passed their river in sight of them in less than two days; after which his troops marched at their ease to the camp that he had intended for them on this side Peterwaradin, behind the old intrenchments, which had not been destroyed since the last war. The next day, prince Eugene, who had always chosen to give battle rather than to receive it, marched against the Turks, the more willingly, as, in the new ground which he was going to occupy, his left would be defended by deep morasses, and his right

Defeat of
Peterwa-
radin.

right by inaccessible hills, and the distance between him and the enemy would be cut by gutters and trenches. These battalions and squadrons well closed, who kept up a continual fire with the muzzles of their pieces almost close to the Ottomans, soon made these numerous and wavering troops give way, who offered at first only a crowd in disorder, by which means one-half of them were unable to make use of their arms, and who in a little time were dispersed, put to flight, and incapable of rallying, The Turkish soldiers, as the author of the life of prince Eugene justly observes, are terrible at the first onset, by the opinion which they have of their superiority over all other people; but they are no sooner broken, than their profound ignorance of tactics prevents their returning to the charge: then their superiority of number, become useless, only offers more victims to the vanquisher. The Turks, commanded by generals without experience, opposed an inconsiderate valour to the science of prince Eugene and the German coolness. The grand vizier, and almost all the bashaws and agas who commanded under him, perished in this battle, and the troops abandoned the field when they no longer heard the voice of their commanders. The prince did not think fit to pursue this multitude in a country with which he was not sufficiently acquainted. The historians vary on the number of the dead; those, who make the loss most considerable, say that thirty thousand Turks were

J.C. 1716.
Heg. 1128.

J.C. 1716. were killed on the field of battle ; those, who
^{Heg. 1128.}
 have made it least, say only ten thousand ; but all agree that a prodigious quantity of bombs, bullets, grenades, a hundred and fifty pair of colours and standards, and a hundred and sixty-four pieces of cannon or mortars, fell into the hands of the vanquisher. The booty of the soldiers, which was immense, is not counted ; the grand vizier's tent fell to prince Eugene ; it was of a surprising size and magnificence. The prince entered it to offer up his prayer of thanks as soon as he was master of the field of battle.

Difficulties about the command of the army.
 It is left to Lari Amed.

Meanwhile the Ottoman troops united again at Belgrade ; all the different parties, being reassembled, still formed an army sufficiently considerable for those who loved the glory of their nation to blush at such a general and precipitate flight. The remaining officers assembled to agree on a commander in chief. The seraskier of Bosnia, called Lari Amed, was the only bashaw of three-tails who had escaped the sword of the Germans. They unanimously voted him commander ; but this bashaw, who had been accustomed to stoop, not only to the grand vizier, but even to his creatures, either through incapacity or meanness of spirit, said that he would obey the kiaia of the grand vizier, who had been intrusted with the secrets of the late prime minister and ought to know the intentions of the Porte. This kiaia was greatly feared : it was even suspected that the grand seignior, out of respect to

the

the memory of Coumourgi, would give the seals J.C. 1716.
Heg. 1128. to him. All the chiefs seemed disposed to follow the example of the seraskier of Bosnia; but the defterdar, bolder than the rest, exclaimed, that it was without example and contrary to order for a seraskier-vizier and several bashaws of two-tails to obey a kiaia, who was not even a sangiac or a bashaw of one-tail; that it was the most powerful emperor alone who could work miracles, after the example of the Divinity; that, if he were to appoint a private janissary grand vizier, the whole empire would bow down to his work; but that the soldiers, by the same reason, had no right to destroy what the sovereign authority had made; that since there was a bashaw of three-tails in the army, all those, who had 'till then been under him, ought to continue their obedience when the chief command devolved upon him. This observation was so just, that the kiaia himself declared he would obey Lari Amed.

Whilst they were yet deliberating, a report spread that the Imperialists were going to lay siege to Temeswar. This town, which may be considered as the key of upper Hungary, had a garrison of eighteen thousand men, and was defended by good intrenchments and strong ramparts. Prince Eugene had sent a considerable detachment the day after the victory of Peterwaradin to invest Temeswar, which the seraskier Lari Amed resolved to succour; and after having restored order to his army, he marched again

Prince Eu-
gene takes
Temeswar.

J.C. 1716.
Heg. 1128. again against the enemy ; but experience had taught him to avoid coming to a pitched battle with prince Eugene. The siege, which was very bloody on both sides, lasted from the 5th of August to the 13th of October, the seraskier, who was encamped near the Imperialists, not daring to give battle. The resistance of the besieged was such, that, notwithstanding the efforts and the conquests which the Imperialists daily made of some work, prince Eugene, disgusted by the continual rains, was thinking of raising the siege, when he saw the white flag hung out. The garrison had yet twelve thousand men left ; the Austrian general granted them the honors of war without hesitation. He had lost more than eight thousand soldiers before the ramparts of Temeswar ; but this important conquest did not appear to him to be bought too dear. Walachia submitted immediately, almost without striking a blow, to the authority of Charles VI. The prince, called Mauro Cordato, whom we have seen druggerman of the Porte, and employed at the last peace, was made prisoner and treated with great rigour by the Imperialists, who suspected him of having endeavoured to raise up the malecontents of Hungary.

The Turks were not more fortunate against the republic of Venice. The captain bashaw had made a descent upon the isle of Corfu, and besieged the capital. The news of the victory of prince Eugene so discouraged him, that he raised

the

the siege and re-embarked precipitately. These misfortunes, which were soon known at Adrianople, grieved the sultan to the very heart and covered him with shame. He vented his rage on the khan of the Tartars, whom he deposed, for having, as he said, given bad advice to the grand vizier.

The seraskier, who had been almost an idle spectator of the siege of Temeswar, and who saw that prince Eugene quartered his troops near his new conquest, thought it best to bring back the broken remains of his army into the inner part of the empire. Trembling lest he should be made the victim of the sultan's rage, he never durst return to Adrianople, notwithstanding the repeated orders which he received, always pretending that his presence was absolutely necessary near the troops: he fixed his head quarters at Guisanda. The consternation was so great at Adrianople, that Ibrahim bashaw, the caimacan, forbade, under pain of death, to write to Constantinople any news of the battle, or rather rout, of Peterwaradin. The grand seignior, under the first impressions of terror, proposed to return to Constantinople; but the plague, which then ravaged that great city, and which was more rife and destructive than it had been known for a long time, diverted him from this design. His ministers made him comprehend, that having a numerous army and places well defended between the Imperialists and Adrianople, the conquest of so much country could not be the work of one

J.C. 1716.
Heg. 1128.

J.C. 1717.
Heg. 1129.
Notwith-
standing
these mis-
fortunes,
the conti-
nuation of
the war is
resolved
on.

J.C. 1717. winter. Several members of the divan and ulema
Heg. 1129. would fain take advantage of this panic to raise
a desire for peace. But, not only after such an
unfortunate campaign the moment was not fa-
vorable to enter on a treaty, twelve thousand five
hundred pounds sterling, which the marquis of
Bonac, the French ambassador, distributed in the
divan by order of his court, made those change
their sentiments who had at first maintained that
an unjust war must necessarily be unfortunate.
They hoped, or feigned to hope, that France,
which interested itself so strongly in the war,
would make a diversion to employ the Germans;
but the regent of the kingdom was desirous of
raising up enemies against the emperor, only to
prevent him from having any intention to attack
France. They sent for count Ragotski to the
Porte, who was then retired into France, and
count Berchiny, an Hungarian lord, who had
been driven from his country as a rebel, and whom
the court of Vienna had had the credit to oblige
to leave Poland, which he had chosen for an
asylum; but neither sufficient money nor troops
were given them to enable them to make a di-
version of any consequence.

There was no grand vizier yet, and no one
presumed to solicit that dignity, more dangerous
even than honorable. Ibrahim bashaw, the cai-
macan, who had succeeded the last grand vizier
in his ascendency over the sultan, would rather
cultivate at court the favor and confidence of his
master,

master, than go into Hungary to be beaten by J.C. 1717.
Heg. 1129.
prince Eugene, and risk his life and favor. He —
got the bashaw of Belgrade, Aftchi Ali, to be
appointed grand vizier. This officer had made
the greatest preparations, both around his town
and in the avenues, to defend that bulwark of the
Ottoman dominions, which he saw on the point
of being attacked, and he had raised an intrench-
ment of six miles of ground, defended by a ditch
eighteen feet deep. From this ditch to the Da-
nube the distance was sufficient to contain a
hundred thousand men ranged in battle; these
considerable works, which shewed that the con-
triver of them was not void of understanding or
military skill, procured Aftchi Ali bashaw the
dignity of grand vizier, which he had no way
desired, but that he durst not refuse.

Meanwhile prince Eugene, who flattered
himself with a campaign as favorable as the
preceding one, hastened to reassemble his army,
which was increased by the auxiliary troops of
the duke of Bavaria and of several sovereigns of
the empire. A great number of young princes
or lords, whom the general peace between the
Christian powers left at leisure, were come to
learn the art of war under so great a master.
Among these were the count of Charollois, the
prince of Dombs, the princes of Bevern, Culm-
bach, Wurtemburg, Lichtenstein, and Anhalt,
and several French lords, such as the prince of
Pons, the prince of Marsillac, and the marquis

Aftchi Ali
is made
grand vi-
zier.

J.C. 1717. of Alincourt. The Austrian army amounted to
 Heg. 1129. ~~—~~ a hundred and forty thousand well disciplined
 troops, in high spirits.

Prince Eugene besieges Belgrade, and the new grand vizier earnestly endeavours to succour it.

The 15th of May prince Eugene, after having disposed detachments to cover Transylvania and the country of Temeswar, laid siege to Belgrade. This place is situated on a little hill, at the foot of which the Save joins the Danube, and on the summit was a citadel that commanded the town. Belgrade is very populous: the streets are narrow, people walk there almost always sheltered from the intemperature of the air by large trees planted on the right and left. A very considerable commerce is carried on there; and the Save, the Danube, the Drave, the Moravia, and the Teisse, furnish the warehouses with all sorts of European, Asiatic, and Indian merchandise. The town was then surrounded with a single rampart: prince Eugene proposed this attack, because, as Belgrade was not fortified equal to its riches, he hoped to make himself master of it before the Turks should be able to succour it. Six vessels of war and six demi-galleys were launched on the Danube to enable the Austrians to build their bridges, destroy those of the enemy, and provision the army. In effect, a bridge being made in haste with eighty-four boats at about eight miles below Belgrade, a hundred thousand men crossed the river, the rest of the army being employed to cover Transylvania and the province of Temeswar.

Meanwhile

Meanwhile the new grand vizier Astchi Ali J.C. 1717.
Heg. 1129.
 received orders to succour Belgrade. Whilst
 prince Eugene was erecting his batteries and cut-
 ting off all communication with the town by
 means of his fleet, which was quite master of the
 Danube, the grand vizier left Nissa, and advanced
 at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand men,
 He came and pitched his camp on the heights
 that surround Belgrade. This army, in which
 there were a hundred thousand regular troops, a
 numerous artillery, and the choice of the Tartars
 and of the timarians, was encamped in the form
 of an amphitheatre, and presented a most ter-
 rible and magnificent spectacle. Prince Eu-
 gene, who would by no means wait for them to
 come and force him in his lines, resolved to go
 and offer them battle. Without entering into
 particulars, which have been mentioned by so
 many historians, we shall content ourselves with
 saying, that prince Eugene put to flight an army
 of double the force of his own (for he had left
 troops to guard his trenches), and that the Turks,
 notwithstanding their number and the advantage
 of their situation, abandoned the field of battle,
 after a fight of eight hours, leaving thirteen
 thousand dead on the spot, without counting the
 wounded, a hundred and thirty-one pieces of can-
 non, thirty mortars, and their tents pitched, which
 offered to the victorious army an abundant booty.
 Prince Eugene, all wounded as he was (for the only
 fault of this great general was to expose himself

The Turks
are beaten
before Bel-
grade, and
the place
surrenders
to prince
Eugene.

like

J.C. 1717. like a common soldier), entered the tent of the
 Heg. 1129. grand vizier, as he had done after the battle of Peterwaradin, to return thanks to God, and have his wound dressed. He retained this rich pavilion for his share, as a trophy of one of the most glorious victories that he had ever gained. The cannon had not yet made any impression on the walls of the town ; but the garrison was so weakened by famine and terror, that, after the first assault, the bashaw desired to capitulate, and obtained the honors of war for his garrison ; but the troops that had been put to flight retired in confusion into the small towns which border upon the Save. The consternation was so general among the Turks, that the grand vizier, who had appointed Nissa for the rendezvous of his routed army, could hardly assemble thirty thousand men there.

J.C. 1718. These news, being arrived at Adrianople, convinced the sultan and his caimacan Ibrahim of the necessity of making a peace at any rate. This minister would fain convince the divan of it likewise. Having drawn in this assembly a striking picture of the wretched situation to which the Porte was reduced, he gave to understand, that the grand seignior was determined to give up the places which the Austrians had taken ; and that, whatever repugnancy he might have to leave the barriers of his European dominions in the hands of his neighbours, he found himself constrained to submit to circumstances, and to wait

The Turks
 make pro-
 posals for a
 peace, not-
 withstand-
 ing the op-
 position of
 the mufti,
 who is de-
 posed.

wait for a more fortunate period to endeavour to recover Belgrade and Temeswar. The mufti, <sup>J.C. 1718.
Heg. 1130.</sup> who was better acquainted with the Alcoran than the strength of the empire, declared, that towns consecrated to Islamism by a great number of mosques could not, without infringing the law, be left in the hands of the Infidels; and in the heat of his zeal he called God and Mahomet to witness the opposition which he, the chief of the ulema, made to this ignominious peace in the name of the whole body of effendis. The cai-makan replied to the interpreter of the Alcoran by the Alcoran itself, that necessity opposed this law which he wished to enforce, and that Mahomet said in express terms he had never meant to oblige Mussulmen to do impossibilities. "Demonstrate to us this impossibility then," answered the mufti: "when you shall have proved to us that there is no money in the public treasury, or in that of the sultans, or in those of the mosques: that there are no more true Mussulmen who are willing to enlist under the standard of Mahomet for the service of God and the glory of the prophet, then I will give my fetfa to authorise this disgraceful treaty." The cai-makan, being justly alarmed at the authority which Musa effendi (that was the name of the mufti) assumed, and the spirit of revolt that he might instil, not only into the ulema, but even into the people, made his master sensible of the necessity to depose this dangerous fanatic. The mufti

J.C. 1718.
Heg. 1130. musti was sent for to the seraglio, under pretence
of conferring with the emperor, where he was
deposed and sent, with three of the most turbulent
of his effendis, to one of the castles of the Dar-
danelles. Ibrahim wrote immediately to the
grand vizier from the sultan, to enter upon a
negotiation with prince Eugene, who was not
only generalissimo of the emperor's armies, but
likewise president of his council of war.

The Turks would willingly have separated the cause of the Germans from that of the Venetians. Though the latter had almost always been as fortunate as their allies, and had taken, this campaign, three places in Albania and several vessels in a naval engagement, the Turks would have made a more advantageous peace with each nation separately; but prince Eugene replied to the first overtures of the grand vizier, that his imperial majesty would not listen to any proposals but conjointly with the republic his ally, to whom the most strict justice should be rendered; that, for the surety of the treaty, the emperor was desirous likewise that Great Britain and Holland should be mediators. These conditions, which were no other than might have been expected, no way astonished Achmet III.; but when, by prince Eugene's second dispatch, he found that Charles VI., taking advantage of the consternation of the Turks, demanded, not only Belgrade and Temeswar, to which he was already adding new fortifi-

fortifications, but that he would have likewise, <sup>J.C. 1718.
Heg. 1130.</sup> as an indemnity for the expences of the war, Bosnia and Servia on the right of the Danube, and Walachia from the river Moldaw to the Niester, and that the Morea should be restored to the Venetians, he resigned himself to the most violent despair, protesting that he would rather lose his sceptre, than consent to a peace which would for ever dishonor his reign. As the negotiation had thus far been carried on by Astchi Ali, the sultan thought that this grand vizier, who had been beaten by prince Eugene with an inferior force, was so much contemned by his vanquisher, that the latter would never offer any thing but disgraceful conditions whilst he saw him at the head of the empire. The grand vizier received orders at Nissa, where he then was, to deliver up the seals; which the caimacan Ibrahim was forced to accept. Astchi Ali thought himself happy to be reduced to a simple sangiacate at the extremity of Asia; and his successor, having united the state of prime minister to the power and authority which he had enjoyed a long time, sought the means to procure his master a less disgraceful peace.

Notwithstanding the general discouragement, the empire was far from being reduced to the last extremity, as the Germans and the major part of the subjects of the Porte supposed it. Achmet, who was a very covetous prince, had hoarded up a great deal of money, which he could not prevail

The grand
vizier is
deposed.
The cai-
macan
Ibrahim
takes the
seals.

Riches laid
up in the
feraglio.

J.C. 1718. ^{Heg. 1130.} on himself to spend. His avarice however was nothing but a delirium ; for he loved gold more as a precious metal than as a mean to extend his power, to subjugate mankind, and to remedy the misfortunes of his empire. The sultan filled crystal vases with all sorts of gold and silver money ; he had them ranged on shelves in his private apartments, and stupidly enjoyed the sight of these riches whilst the enemies of his empire were massacring his soldiers and wresting provinces from him. The new grand vizier Ibrahim, who knew that the only way to please his master was to flatter his caprices, would by no means think of depriving him of the idol of his adoration. Persuaded too that, in order to obtain any tolerable conditions from the Imperialists, it was necessary to shew them that the empire was not without resources ; and that a peace could be procured only by preparing for a war ; he contrived to lay an impost on men's vanity. Titles of seraskier, bashaws of the different orders, and agas in the different military corps, were created and sold to those who were rich enough to pay for them. Though elevation among the Turks is subject to more frequent and fatal falls than among other people, yet the thirst of grandeurs is neither less common nor ardent than elsewhere. Those, who wish to excuse it, say, that the prophet has decided that the just shall have the same rank in the other life as they have in this ; and, as we have said elsewhere, the Mussulmen abuse the

the dogma of predestination so far as to believe J.C. 1718.
Heg. 1130⁴ that human prudence can have no effect on the future; that the days of man are numbered; and that he cannot, in any case, prolong, or preserve his life. The new created dignities were bought at the price which the grand vizier put on them: four thousand purses were raised by this novelty, which served to levy troops and repair the disasters of the last campaign.

Meanwhile the mediation of England and Holland was accepted. Lord Montague, the English ambassador, and baron Colliers, the Dutch ambassador, endeavoured to bring about matters between the belligerent powers. A place was agreed on for the conferences: this was the small town of Passarowitz, situated in Servia on the Moravia. The preparations of the Turks for the continuation of the war, and the menaces of Spain, which had not yet concluded a very solid peace with Charles VI. rendered that prince more tractable. Moreover, neither England, nor Holland, nor France, would have consented that the Turks should be confined to Asia, as Charles VI. seemed to desire. The balance of Europe required, that this barrier should be kept up against the ambition of a house, heretofore accused of aiming at universal monarchy. The emperor of the West sent as plenipotentiaries to Passarowitz baron Dalleman his resident at the Porte, and count Virmont. The republic of Venice sent thither the noble Ruzzini; and the aga Ibrahim

Congress
at Passa-
rowitz.

J.C. 1718. and Mehemet effendi were the plenipotentiaries
 Heg. 1130. from the Porte. Sir Robert Sutton and baron Colliers represented the mediation of England and Holland. There were eight conferences, in which the rights and interests of the two empires were warmly discussed on both sides. The Germans, who opened the first conference, demanded from the Turks all that prince Eugene had comprised in his last dispatches, and likewise that prince Ragotski should be delivered up to them as a rebel subject. Mehemet effendi, the same who a little time after was sent on an embassy to France, supported the cause of the Porte with ability and even dignity. He treated prince Eugene's first propositions as chimerical, saying, that the Ottoman plenipotentiaries would not have come to the congress, if they had foreseen that they would again be insisted on; that the Ottoman empire had still sufficient resources to defend effectually what was meant to be wrested from it with so much injustice, and to recover what it had lost; that with respect to the proposal which the Imperialists had presumed to make, of delivering up prince Ragotski to their master, bound hand and foot, he was unable to conceive how they could think that the Mussulmen would listen to such an infamous request; that the sublime emperor of the Turks was the refuge, support, and consolation of the unfortunate, and that he would sooner see his empire overturned, which was established on such a solid basis, than deliver to his enemies

Debates
between
the pleni-
potentia-
ries.

enemies a prince that he had invited to his court, J.C. 1718.
Heg. 1130.
and armed himself; that with regard to the Morea, the Turks had done no more than re-enter their domain; and that if the Imperialists were resolved to take advantage of their success over the Ottoman arms, not only to keep their conquests but even to expect to usurp new provinces, it was neither just nor reasonable to think that the Turks, who were vanquishers of the Venetians, should give them up the possessions which they had recovered; that, in fine, if the Germans had nothing to alter in such extravagant proposals, they, the plenipotentiaries of the Porte, declared they should leave Passarowitz; and they withdrew in fact from the congress room.

It was the interest of the two mediators to make up matters between the litigant parties. Being very certain that the Germans had not exhausted their powers, they followed the Turkish plenipotentiaries, in order to prevail on them to put off their departure for some days; and in this interval, by persuasions and intreaties, they procured a second conference. At length, after all the plenipotentiaries had debated their respective interests during eight long sittings, the mediators brought them to consent, that each should keep what he possessed at the time of the signing of the treaty, and that prince Ragotski should continue under the protection of the grand seignior. The preliminaries were signed on the basis *uti possidetis*, and the three powers voluntarily ratified

what

J.C. 1718. what their representatives had concluded. Prince
 Heg. 1130. Ragotski was sent to Rodofto, with a thaim of a
 hundred piastras a day.* This is what they call
 at the Porte the daily subsistence granted to so-
 reign princes, and ambassadors and ministers
 extraordinary.

However disadvantageous this peace might seem for the Turks, they recovered the Morea, a province without doubt much richer than the countries of Belgrade and Teineswar, and they prevented the discouragement of their troops, over whom the Austrians had taken an ascendency which might last a long time. Ibrahim, having lost the Ottoman frontiers opposed to the most formidable enemy of this empire, hastened to fortify the barrier towns, with the money that he had drawn from the new bashaws, and which he had at first intended for the war. He caused Nissa, Viden, Nicopoli, and Sophia, to be fortified, in order that Servia and Bulgaria might not be open to a neighbour against whom it would be always necessary to guard. The troops, dis-couraged, saw with pleasure an end to the war; but all the true Mussulmen regretted the ancient barriers of the empire. They grieved to think that Christian churches would be raised on the ruins of the mosques. They said, that the imposts with which the commerce had been burdened for seve-ral years past should have secured the Ottoman empire from this disgrace; that a disadvantageous peace,

Discontent
on the
occasion of
the treaty
of Passa-
witz.

* The Turkish piastra is valued at half-a-crown sterling.

peace, by lowering the nation in the eyes of its J.C. 1718.
enemies and neighbours, would only produce ^{Heg. 1130.} wars still more bloody. The treaty of Passarowitz began to raise a contempt for the reign of Achmet.

A fresh misfortune, which happened at Constantinople soon after, increased the discontent. A fire broke out in the Jews' quarter. By a law both weak and injurious, the Christians are forbidden to endeavour to extinguish fires that break out in the houses which they inhabit. Some men, appointed for that purpose, repaired thither very slowly, because, they said, it was only the houses and property of Giaurs that were burning. In about two hours, the wind, having risen all of a sudden, the flames raged with so much fury, that, in less than two days, a quarter of Constantinople was consumed, notwithstanding the too tardy efforts of the Turks, who were well punished for their inhumanity. This misfortune having reduced a great number of artisans, tradesmen, and even rich citizens, to the greatest misery, these people surrounded the seraglio for several days, to solicit the sultan for succours, which the state of so many unhappy persons rendered indispensable; but Achmet, quiet in his haram, enjoyed the sight of his vases full of gold, which were multiplying every day, without thinking of the evils which the misery of his people might accumulate over his head. These commotions, in which neither soldiers nor effendis appeared,

J.C. 1719,
to 1721.
Heg. 1131,
to 1134.
A great fire
at Constan-
tinople.

J.C. 1719, ^{to 1721.} appeared, had no other consequences, for the pre-
 Heg. 1131, ^{to 1134.} sent, than to make these unhappy persons tho-
 roughly dislike the emperor in their hearts. But
 this was the first cause of the fall of Achmet, who
 was incapable of perceiving that a monarch, and
 particularly a despotic one, risks every thing
 when he draws on himself the hatred of his
 subjects.

^{The grand vizier is employed in administering justice.} The grand vizier Ibrahim wanted neither good intentions, nor even designs. If he had not been restrained by the avidity and caprices of his master, he might have governed well. In the midst of peace, he paid great attention to the administration of justice. But, as there is no other written law in Turkey than that of the Alcoran, and the catcheriffs of the sultans are never directed but to particular objects, the greatest, and almost only service which the ministers can do in this respect is to choose wife and upright cadis, who follow exactly the light of their reason and the impulse of their heart. Ibrahim was exasperated at the number of false witnesses, of whom he thought himself sure, but of which he could not get proof. This crime is of great consequence in Turkey, as almost every thing is decided by the hearing of witnesses. The grand vizier resolved, if he could not prevent these abuses, at least to fright the culprits by examples. He prevailed on several men, who were devoted to him, to bring some imaginary causes before the divan, for which it was necessary to suborn witnesses.

Theſe

These pretended litigants applied to those who made a profession of selling their testimony, and who had several times affirmed in the diyan what they were supposed to have never had any knowledge of. More than fifty of these wretches attested at hazard, in the same morning, what they had been charged to certify, without suspecting the snare that was laid for them. There was no difficulty to convict them of this crime, with which they were familiar. They were all empaled the same day. The grand vizier drew at least this advantage from arbitrary power, so fatal in most cases, that he punished the crime every time he thought he detected it, without the formalities or evasions of an obscure defence being able to save the culprits from chastisement. He raised himself above the prejudices of his nation, so far as to protect the Roman catholic Christians against the Greeks, their greatest enemies. It is necessary to enter into some details in this respect, to give an idea of the service which the grand vizier did the Roman catholic church.

The Greek subjects of the Ottoman empire receive from their sovereign, as we have already said, patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, who pay him a large sum for these dignities. The Greek church not only differs from the Roman catholic in several dogmas and the manner of instituting prelates, but likewise in a venality that is authorised, and which the Latins call simony. Every thing is paid for among the

J.C. 1719,
to 1721.
Heg. 1131,
to 1134.

Punish-
ment of
false wit-
nesses.

Affairs of
the Greeks
and Latins.

J.C. 1719, Greeks, even the entrance into their temples; and
to 1721.
Heg. 1131, these sums, which the prelates and other pastors
to 1134. carry in great part to the sovereign, either to ob-
tain better fees, or that the public exercise of their
religion may be tolerated, form an impost very
heavy for the Greek Christians. Oftentimes the
latter, displeased with the avidity of their priests,
listen to the persuasions of the Romish pastors,
whose zeal is not mercenary, and whose religion is
free from simony. The Greek prelates bear ra-
ther impatiently what they call apostasy. Instead
of entering into theological disputes with their
adversaries, they complain to the grand vizier,
and especially to the musti, charged more parti-
cularly with what concerns, not only Islamism
but other religions. In the reign of Mustapha
II. they insinuated, that if the Roman catholics
wrested their diocesans from them, who paid
them for instructions and sacraments, they would
no longer be in a situation to furnish the treasury
of the sultan with the sums demanded. They
added, that these Greeks, born subjects of the
grand seignior, ceased to acknowledge him for
their master as soon as they were under the sub-
jection of the pope, a foreign prince, who usurped
the sovereignty over all those of his religion.
(The Ottomans do not comprehend the distinction
of two powers, which, among the Roman catho-
lics, form equally the basis of the sovereign power
and of the authority of the pastors. The prophet
Mahomet has ordered, on the contrary, that the
sovereign

sovereign shall be likewise the chief of the religion, because, says the Alcoran, there can be but one representative of the Divinity in those countries which are not separated by seas or Infidel empires. It is on this principle that the grand seignior, not only deposes the mufti, but likewise raises up or pulls down the khan of the Tartars at his pleasure, and the other sovereigns his tributaries; it is moreover on this principle, which the effendis say is the very foundation of the throne, that the pope is looked upon, not only as the chief of an erroneous sect, but even as an usurper.) The mufti Fezula, who, it must be remembered, was omnipotent during the reign of Mustapha II., issued a fetfa, in consequence of what had been represented to him by the Greek clergy, which was presently backed by a catcherif. The grand seignior, authorised by the decision of the mufti, forbade, under pain of death, any of the Greek Christians to frequent the Romish churches. The French ambassador, whose first duty at the Porte is to protect the Roman catholic religion, in the name of his master, strongly remonstrated against this rigorous ordinance. He demonstrated, that it was the interest of the empire to grant liberty of conscience to those subjects who, not being Mussulmen, ought not to be dependant on the mufti, and who were considered as the best husbandmen and the ablest merchants in all the grand seignior's territories; for the Greek and Latin Christians, not being al-

J.C. 1719.
to 1721.
Heg. 1131,
to 1134.

J.C. 1719, to 1721.
Heg. 1131, to 1134.
 J.C. 1719, lowed to bear any office civil or military, and that
 useless class who live solely on their fortunes be-
 ing absolutely unknown among the Turks, those
 who are not Mussulmen must necessarily cultivate
 the earth or carry on a trade. It is to the subjects
 of the empire who are termed Giaurs that Asia
 owes the abundance which reigns there, and the
 sea-ports their opulence and commerce. Not-
 withstanding this remonstrance, whilst Mustapha
 continued on the throne, the Greeks who turned
 papists were persecuted, and the frequent appli-
 cations of the French ambassador for their redress
 were not attended to, as the Porte had entered
 into no engagement to tolerate the Romish re-
 ligion but for the subjects of foreign crowns, and
 this minister had no right to protect the subjects
 of the grand seignior. But when Achmet III.
 had succeeded his brother, and Ibrahim had ac-
 quired the confidence of the monarch, this mi-
 nister, who comprehended what policy and reason
 required from him, durst not abrogate the cat-
 cherif of the last emperor, for fear of causing a
 revolt in the ulema; but he hindered the effect
 of it, and granted in all cases the Roman catho-
 liccs and Greeks a constant protection, against the
 tyranny of the Greek pastors called papas.

The Ro-
man Ca-
tholics re-
cover the
Holy se-
pulchre.

The marquis of Bonac, at that time ambaf-
 sador from France, took advantage of the good
 disposition of this minister, to obtain a grant
 which had been refused a long time both to his
 predecessors and him. The Greeks, as we have
 seen,

seen, had possessed themselves of the church of J.C. 1719,
the Holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, and the Latin
pilgrims were, not only obliged to join in prayer
with those whom they considered as schismatics,
but even to pay very dear for permission to adore
Jesus Christ in the place of his burial, after hav-
ing bought it already by a great many fatigues
and dangers. Lewis XIV. had solicited the re-
covery of the Holy sepulchre a long time, without
ever having been able to obtain it. Though the
Turks had not presumed to give the most ami-
able power of the Porte an absolute refusal, yet
the money of the Greeks had raised up the oppo-
sition of the mustis, and retarded the decisions of
the grand viziers, who for thirty years had kept
the Latins in expectation of a catcherif. The
marquis of Bonac having entered on this nego-
tiation, supported his solicitations by a great many
reasons and complaints; and the grand vizier,
who was sensible of the want which the Porte
would have sooner or later of France, made a
merit to the ambassador of what he could not well
refuse him. The first thing the Roman catholics
did to the Holy sepulchre after they were in pos-
session was to repair the roof of it, pursuant to
the catcherif which granted it them.

The divan thought they had given France such
a distinguished testimony of esteem and favor,
that it was decided that this catcherif should be
carried to Lewis XV. by an ambassador extraor-
dinary. Mehemet effendi who settled the peace
Embassy to
France.

at

J.C. 1719, at Passarowitz with the Austrians and the republic
to 1721.
Heg. 1131, of Venice, went to France in that capacity. The
to 1134. choice of such a negotiator, the ablest in the Ottoman empire, gave reason to presume that this embassy had some important object, and that the restoration of the Holy sepulchre was only the pretext of it. And indeed the Turks, who had been more infested for some years past by the Maltese galleys than formerly, had complained to the French ambassador of several captures which the Order of St. John had made from them. The great number of French gentlemen who are engaged or admitted into that Order, the ignorance of the Turks with regard to the rights of the sovereigns of Europe, and their despotic power over their tributaries, pretended sovereigns, whom they depose as easily as their lowest fangiacs, all this made the divan think that the king of France could retain the galleys of Malta in their ports if he pleased; and they wanted to have this friendly power restrain these religious warriors whom the Turks treated as corsairs, and supposed, with so little reason, subjects of France. Mehemet effendi learned in the cabinets of the French ministers, what the marquis of Bonac had already told the grand vizier several times, that the Order of Malta, sovereign on its rock, has all the Christian kings of the Roman communion for protectors, but acknowledges neither of them for master, and that, notwithstanding the treaty concluded under Bajazet II. with the knights, who were

were then at Rhodes, it is the policy and duty of J.C. 1719,
the Order of St. John not to make any peace with to 1721.
the Mussulmen. All the fruit which Mehemet Heg. 1131,
effendi brought back of his embassy, consisted to 1134.
only in presents for his master, and plans of the palaces and gardens of Versailles and Fontainbleau, some parts of which Achmet endeavoured to imitate at his seraglios of Darud bashaw and the Mirrors, two pleasure houses which he was fonder of than any of his other places of residence. Mehemet effendi, who was a lover of letters, brought some printers likewise from France, who published at Constantinople an edition of the Alcoran, another of the Sunna, and another of a Turkish grammar; but these artisans, who might have been so useful to a people susceptible of being enlightened, were soon constrained to flee from the fury of seven or eight thousand copiers, who have no other profession at Constantinople and in the other great towns, to keep themselves from misery, and whose slow and incorrect work can communicate but a very small quantity of knowledge and a multiplicity of errors. All the mussulmen consider it as a duty to have an Alcoran and a Sunna. These, with some historians and poets whose stile is both tumid and metaphorical, and almost unintelligible, compose the whole literature of the Turks. One of these manuscripts is considered by them as a valuable moveable, but which few people can make use of; for, if we except the members of the ulema, the number

of

J.C. 1722. of Turks who can read is very small, even at
Heg. 1134,
& 1135. Constantinople.

Troubles in Persia. The Turks had enjoyed the advantages of peace for four years, when the troubles in Persia suddenly excited the avidity of Russia, and that of the Porte. These intestine wars sprang from the effeminacy of the sophis, and from the little care which they took of the government of their empire. Shah Hussein, more indolent even than his predecessors, entirely abandoned the reins of government to those who had insinuated themselves into his confidence. Bad kings have generally bad ministers. Some subaltern tyrants provoked a general insurrection in the beginning of the present century. The flames broke out in the province of Candahar, inhabited by a horde of Tartars, called Asghvans. One Mirveis, kelunter or syndic of the Asghvans, a man of some consequence among his countrymen by his birth (for there are nobles among these Tartars), his dignity, and the loftiness of his soul, received the most pointed affront from the governor of Candahar. The Persian sent to the kelunter of the Asghvans to demand his daughter, (whose beauty was much extolled) to shut her up in his haram. Mirveis, who was unable immediately to revenge himself for this insult, feigned to obey. He sent the governor a beautiful slave richly dressed, which he assured him was his daughter. It is remarked in history, that the greatest revolutions have been occasioned by the incontinence

of tyrants. Mirveis often repeated the Persian proverb, *That the wakeful serpent triumphs over the drowsy lion.* In effect, he persuaded the governor, that all the Asghvans voluntarily bore the yoke imposed on them; and when he was sure of his countrymen, and that they were ripe for a revolt, he slaughtered this man in a feast who would have ravished his daughter, and made himself master of the capital of Candahar, from which he had had the address to remove the garrison. In a few days the conspirators shewed themselves in the extremities of the province. The court of Ispahan, instead of making use of force to reduce the rebels, sent commissioners to Mirveis, who made him offers from the sophi which could not tempt him, and menaces that he despised still more. The chief of the rebels told these officers that they should be thankful that he spared their lives, and expressly ordered them to go and tell their master, that the prince, who chose tyrants to represent him, was a tyrant himself, and that he, Mirveis, would soon ease him of a burden too heavy for his hands.

To the interest of liberty was joined that of religion, so powerful for Mussulmen. The Asghvans were Sunnites. Mirveis having declared himself the defender of the true worship, caused the Sunna and Alcoran of the Turks to be carried with his colours, under which a multitude of soldiers came to enlist every day. The Asghvans were joined by the Bou-

J.C. 1722.
Heg. 1134.
& 1135.

J.C. 1722. louks, a warlike, ferocious people, and the Tirins,
 Heg. 1134,
 & 1135. another horde of Tartars, who bear fatigue and
 hunger better than any other nation, and never
 give any quarter. Such troops could not but be
 very formidable to the effeminate Persians. The
 armies of Shah Husein were assembled slowly,
 and were dispersed quickly.

At length Mirveis died after having secured his family the conquest of Candahar by six years labour. Though he left two sons, he ordered that Mir Adula, his brother, should reign after him, either to adopt the succession of the Sunnites, which makes the throne belong to the eldest of the reigning family, or that Mirveis did not choose to leave a prince, too young, a throne, the foundation of which was not yet well established. But this new monarch no way resembled his predecessor; far from thinking of new conquests, he did not wish to retain even the province that was already under his subjection. His timid, indolent character made him fear equally the cares of the throne and the fatigues of war. As he was thinking of giving up Candahar to the obedience of Persia, the eldest of Mirveis's sons, called Mir Mamout, who was only nineteen years old, having learned his uncle's design, invested his palace, possessed himself of the papers which shewed Mir Adula's intention, killed the prince, and having assembled the soldiers, he informed them what blood he had been dipping his hands in, and what reasons had determined

terminated him to commit the murder. Those, who had assisted in establishing the throne of Mirveis, made no difficulty to place his son on it, who had just prevented its ruin. If we may believe the Turkish authors, a little time after the accession of Mir Mamout to the throne of Candahar, the Tartars of Herat took up arms against their Persian governor, for a cause nearly similar to that which, a few years before, had made Candahar revolt.

The governor of Herat, having conceived some criminal designs, attempted to offer violence to a young man, who, endowed with a courage above his age, made his countrymen sensible of the disgrace of obeying these cowardly corrupters ; and, animating them by the example of those of Candahar, he armed them against the garrisons that guarded their towns : all were massacred, and the Tartars of Herat formed an independent republic. This rebellion was the signal for many others. The Curdes, Usbecks, Affdalies, and all the people of the vicinity of mount Caucasus, shook off the yoke almost at the same time. The feeble Shah Hussein, instead of seeking in his court and armies faithful servants and good generals, listened to the atrocious accusations which the eunuchs invented against those who might have been able to defend him. He delivered his bravest warriors to the executioner, whilst his best provinces became the prey of the Tartars.

J.C. 1722. Mir Mamout, the new king of Candahar, took
Heg. 1134,
& 1135. advantage of these troubles, with as much ability as courage. At the head of twenty thousand men he penetrated as far as the province of Kerman, across arid deserts, combating thirst, hunger, and the inclemency of the air. Being arrived in an inhabited country, he made proselytes and soldiers wherever he met men. After having made himself master of some fortresses, he brought twenty-five thousand men into the plains of Ispahan, to whom the unfortunate sophi opposed an army of double the number, but which was composed entirely of soldiers without discipline or experience, accustomed to the Asiatic effeminacy and luxury, and whose arms were more an ornament than a defence in their hands; their numbers did but hasten their defeat. When the soldiers of Mir Mamout were loaded with booty, they laid siege to the capital of Persia. Twenty-five thousand men undertook to block up and famish a town of twenty-four miles circuit, and they succeeded the better, as the imprudent sophi had not taken any measures to provision it. As soon as the communications were cut off, misery was felt in Ispahan. Meanwhile Mir Mamout's army visibly increased. The governors of the different provinces, who were ordered to come with the national troops to the relief of Ispahan, either through terror, or treachery, or a mistaken vanity, kept their troops at a distance from the army of the Afghans, because, they said,

said, they could not march under one another's orders. The only act of prudence that Shah Hussein could prevail with himself to do during this unhappy siege, was to convey his eldest son from the sword or captivity with which he was threatened. The army of the besiegers being weakened by a considerable detachment, the young prince left the town in the night, attended by some horse, and crossed several posts of the rebels, without being discovered. He retired to Casbin, from whence he made great efforts to gather succours capable of delivering Ispahan; but terror and discontent had congealed every heart. Both the subjects and feudatory princes manifested their unwillingness: the few troops who set forward were dispersed the second day of their march. Those, who seemed animated with a real desire to succour their country, were so few, that they durst not go towards the capital for fear of shewing the enemy how weak the kingdom of Persia was. The governor of Sejestan alone brought a succour of near twenty thousand men. Mir Mamout chose rather to corrupt this servant than to fight him. He wrote him a letter to advise him to make himself master of Korazan, telling him that he was more worthy of governing that province than the prince for whose service he was desirous of delivering the capital. This letter, full of flattery and backed by rich presents, prevailed on the perfidious governor to divide the prey which he did not think himself strong enough

J.C. 1722.
Heg. 1134,
& 1135.

J.C. 1722. enough to defend. Being assured of the assistance of the Tartars of Herat, he turned his troops towards Mached, the capital of Korazan, and at length made himself sovereign without resistance. The misery of the besieged being arrived at its height, Shah Husein ordered his ministers to go and offer a capitulation. The barbarous Asghvans eluded this proposal: they wanted to have Ispahan so depopulated by the famine, that their little army might be in no danger from treachery when amidst such a number of people who were their enemies. One cannot, without weeping, says the Persian historian, read the circumstances of the dreadful famine which this conduct occasioned. It was then the latter end of September: since the month of August the flesh of horses, mules, and other beasts of burden, sold at an excessive price; there was no longer any one but the king, the principal officers of the palace, and the richest people, who ate of it. Though the religion of the Persians makes them abhor the flesh of dogs and several other animals reputed unclean, all those that they could find were consumed in a few days. The people then lived on the bark of trees, on leaves, and on hides softened in boiling water. But this wretched resource failing, they were obliged to submit to live on human flesh; never was there so much eaten in any siege. Men, with death painted on their countenance, cut from dead bodies wherewithal to sustain the feeble

feeble remains of a languishing existence; others, J.C. 1722.
Heg. 1134.
& 1135. with wild looks, ran the streets with clubs in their hands, and carried off children, or knocked men on the head with the same design; and when, by a remnant of justice, these unhappy people were punished, they served for food in their turn. A furious necessity stifling every sentiment of humanity, the husband slaughtered his wife, the brother his sister, the fathers and mothers their children, to make this horrible use of them. The water of Senderut was so corrupted by the multitude of dead bodies, that people could not drink of it. In a less healthy climate, the infected air would have been sufficient to destroy the small number of inhabitants that still lived.

At length Shah Hussein having sent several times to entreat his barbarous vanquisher to accept his crown and grant food and fetters to the few subjects whom he was earnest to offer him, the 23d of October he was ordered to repair with his retinue to the camp of Mir Mamout; and the Tartar, adding insult to cruelty, gave orders that the king of Persia should wait outside his tent, to prevent his disturbing his repose. Shah Hussein being at length admitted, after half an hour, to an audience of the vanquisher, fastened himself the egrets of diamonds to his turban, which are in Persia, as in Turkey, the mark of sovereignty, and of which he had just stripped himself. Mir Mamout caused provisions to be distributed in Ispahan; and after having treated

Shah

J.C. 1722. Shah Hussein with more humanity than he had
Heg. 1134,
& 1145. expected, he sent him well guarded into a pri-
vate apartment of the palace of Ispahan.

The usurper entered the capital with a martial pomp that would have increased the terror of the Persians, had it not been at its height; but as an abundance succeeded almost suddenly to the most horrid famine, the cessation of the evil and the reflection on the faults of the last reign, which had been the cause of it, consoled those who hoped they should suffer no longer. In this moment an embassy from Peter the Great, czar of Moscow, arrived at Ispahan to complain to Shah Hussein that the Leghis Tartars, feudatories of Persia, settled on the borders of the Caspian sea, had massacred some engineers sent by the czar to survey those coasts and take plans of them. The usurper replied, instead of the lawful sovereign, that the Leghis were his friends and not his subjects; that he had no power over these free people; that, if the czar would send caravans over their territories, he should either have made an alliance with them, or had his subjects so escorted, that they should have nothing to fear from the rapacity of these Tartars accustomed to live on plunder. This answer, and the particulars which the czar learned at the same time from Persia, determined him to subjugate these free-booters of whom he had to complain, and to make himself master of the provinces that lay convenient for him. The pretext was fair. Peter gave

gave out that he was going to take up the cause J.C. 1722.
of the sophi, of whom he was the ally, and to re-
store to his son, a fugitive at Casbin, and who
in vain sought avengers among his subjects, seve-
ral of the provinces which he had lost by the re-
bellion. The czar repaired to Astrachan, where
his troops were to join. He embarked a nu-
merous infantry composed of Russians, Cossacks,
and Calmucks. He landed troops several times
to ravage the country of the Leghis, burn their
tents and crops, and beat parties of freebooters,
who did not expect to meet an army. In fine,
the czar overran the Daghestan and Shirvan, two
northern provinces of the Tartars which border
on the Caspian sea, without meeting any resistance
worth mentioning. He left garrisons in the
principal towns, which are not so good as our
smallest villages, thoroughly resolved to build
fortresses there in the sequel; and re-embarked
about the end of the autumn to regain Astrachan
before the storms, which are very frequent on the
Caspian sea at that season, should endanger his
army.

The czar
takes two
Tartarian
provinces.

This success greatly alarmed the Turks, who J.C. 1723.
found Peter the Great a neighbour already too
formidable. The khan of the Crimean Tartars
sent word to the Porte, that the Russians, not
satisfied with making themselves masters of the
borders of the Caspian sea, were fortifying their
conquests, and had a correspondence with the
prince of Georgia; that if the Ottomans and Cri-

The people
are desirous
of having
war de-
clared a-
gainst him
on this oc-
cation.

J.C. 1723. mean Tartars remained in inaction, this new
 Heg. 1135,
 & 1136. power would so extend itself, that it would surround all the possessions of the Porte in Asia. Sultan Achmet was no way desirous of a war, and his grand vizier dreaded it as much as his master. The wounds of the war of Belgrade were not yet healed up, and the grand seignior, always admiring his heaps of gold, could not part with it without great pain. However, the officers of the divan, and those of the janissaries, thought it would be too disgraceful and fatal for the Ottoman empire to let the czar of Russia conquer Persia. These people, who were groaning under a load of taxes, and who had been refused wherewithal to rebuild their houses, after the last fire, loudly demanded an account of the money which had been collected in the capital and the provinces, since there was not sufficient in the public treasury to relieve the unfortunate or defend the frontiers.

These murmurs obliged the grand vizier Ibrahim to make preparations. The cloak of sable and the mace of arms, which are the marks of investiture, were sent to the two khans of the Daghestan and Shirvan, whom the czar had stripped of their sovereignties, announcing to them that the Porte took them under its protection. The bashaws of the empire were ordered to assemble the forces of their governments; and the grand seignior sent to the three republics of Barbary to invite them to recall their corsairs, and

to hold them ready to join his fleet. A capiggi J.C. 1723.
pachi was sent at the same time to Petersburg, to Heg. 1135,
declare to the czar, that if he protected the Geor-
gians, either against the Porte, or against either
of the two sovereigns of Persia, the grand seignior
would think himself obliged to declare war against
him; that moreover his vengeance against the
Leghis had been carried far enough, and that
the emperor of the Turks could not refuse the
protection demanded of him by Sunnite Mus-
ulmen like himself. The bashaw of Erzerum
received orders to enter Georgia with twenty
thousand men, where he did not meet with the
least resistance.

Meanwhile the khan of Crimea wrote con-
tinually to the Porte, that it was their common
interest to make an irruption into Russia, to em-
ploy the czar in his own dominions, and hinder
his invading Persia. Ibrahim, always inclined to
peace, replied, that the Porte was seriously me-
ditating to repress the czar, but that if he, the
khan, durst begin hostilities without the appro-
bation of the sublime emperor his sovereign pa-
ramount, he must not only expect to be deposed,
but he might be sure that his disobedience would
be punished with death. By the precept of the
Alcoran, which admits but of one sovereign in a
country, however large it may be, when it is not
separated by seas or Infidel nations not subjugated,
Ibrahim considered the khan of the Tartars as a
prince in subjection to the sword of Othman, and

J.C. 1723. he hoped that Mir Mamout, who was a Sunnite
Heg. 1135,
& 1136. Mussulman like Achmet III., would be as faithful
to the law of Mahomet as the khan of the Tartars
had always been, and that he would acknowledge
the Ottoman emperor for the father of the true
Believers. But when he had learned by an aga,
whom the bashaw of Bagdad had dispatched to
Mir Mamoud, that this usurper was resolved to
be an independent king the same as the sophis had
been, the vizier saw there was no other course to
take than that of dismembering Persia; that in
order thereto it became more and more necessary
to agree with Peter the Great. The czar was
as desirous as Ibrahim not to multiply the obsta-
cles to the conquests which he meditated; and,
as he knew it to be the interest of France to dis-
suade the Porte from combating any other power
than the house of Austria, at that time the rival
of the house of Bourbon, he prevailed on Mr.
Decampredon, the French minister at Petersburg,
to write both to his court and to the marquis of
Bonac, the French ambassador at the Porte, in
order that this ambassador might take upon him
in the name of his master the mediation between
Turkey and Russia.

The marquis of Bonac, a man of fine talents
and great zeal, knew the court in which he was
negotiating, as much as the interests of that
which he was to serve. He had so ingratiated him-
self with the grand vizier Ibrahim, that that mi-
nister believed the French ambassador his parti-
cular

cular friend, and as much attached to the Porte J.C. 1723.
as himself. The grand vizier, holding for a Heg. 1135.
certainty that the Ottoman empire and the kingdom & 1736.
of France ought to make but one in the order of policy, earnestly listened to the advice which the marquis of Bonac gave him. He particularly approved the sparing of the forces of the Ottoman empire, in order to keep his neighbours in awe, by threatening to attack whichsoever should attempt to oppose the designs of the Porte. This pacific plan flattered the avarice of the grand seignior, and the timidity of the grand vizier, who knew that the heads of his predecessors had often answered for the events of war. He feared however the divan, and particularly the janissaries, who cried aloud that the czar would be let make himself master of Persia, in order to be able afterward to possess himself of the Ottoman dominions in Asia. The marquis of Bonac had frequent conferences with the reis effendi, as likewise with the grand vizier; and these two ministers, worked upon by the French ambassador, sought the means to disarm Russia. The capigli pachi, who had been sent to the czar, brought back a rather haughty answer. The Russian monarch declared to the Porte, that it was not his intention to infringe the peace in the least; but that, if the Turks endeavoured to oppose his designs on the coast of the Caspian sea, he should on his side traverse the views which they might have on the countries situated between

the

J.C. 1723. the two seas. The marquis of Bonac, who was
^{Meg. 1135,}
~~& 1136.~~ in the secret of the court of Russia, observed to
the grand vizier, that, notwithstanding the me-
naces which the czar's answer seemed to contain,
it offered a mean of pacification ; that it was just
to let that prince extend his conquests on the bor-
ders of the Caspian sea, if, as he insinuated, he
suffered the Ottoman empire to take provinces
that lay convenient for it. The marquis added,
that if the usurper Mir Mamout should be de-
sirous of claiming what had belonged to Persia,
it was equally the interest of the Porte and of
Russia to live in peace, and even in alliance, in
order to fight together the common enemy ; that
the czar was so persuaded of the advantage of
such an agreement, that Mr. Nepluief, the Rus-
sian resident at the Porte, had said to him, that
he had powers to conclude a treaty. On this
overture, the grand vizier proposed to the French
ambassador to act as mediator. The marquis,
who wrote an exact account to his court of the
steps that he had thought proper to take, re-
ceived no answer to it. Either through negli-
gence of cardinal Dubois, at that time prime
minister, or that this prelate did not like the mar-
quis of Bonac, he left him in the greatest em-
barrassment, without directing, or approving, or
blaming his conduct. In this disagreeable situ-
ation, the ambassador, sure that it was the interest
of his court to hinder a war between two powers
who, both independent and allies, might disquiet

The
French
ambassador
offers his
mediation.

the

the house of Austria, made a bold step which the J.C. 1723.
 love of doing good suggested to him. He re- Heg. 1135,
 plied to the proposal of the grand vizier, that it & 1136.
 being then the ramazan or Turkish lent, it ap-
 peared to him an improper time for opening con-
 ferences; that moreover he had no instructions
 from his court for this mediation; but that ne-
 vertheless, if he did not receive any before the
 end of that season, as he was the ambassador of a
 prince equally the ally of the Ottoman emperor
 and of the czar of Moscovy, he would act in that
 quality for mediator between the two powers, if
 both should desire it; that he was already sure of
 the Russian resident; that after the ramazan the
 grand vizier might proceed as he thought fit;
 and that he considered as a good introduction to
 the treaty, that Peter the Great had declared he
 should not command his troops in person that
 campaign.

During this interval, a Persian arrived at Con- Embassy
 stantinople, whose retinue was but small, and who from Persia
 appeared to have suffered greatly from fatigue without
 and misery. He had been stopped a long time succeſſ..
 on the frontiers of Turkey, before he was per-
 mitted to continue his journey. He styled him-
 self ambassador from Shah Thamas, the son of
 Shah Hussein. This prince, inheritor of the
 pretensions and misfortunes of his father, was
 retired into the mountains of Armenia: some
 poor provinces which had been laid waste still
 held out for him. He had sent both to the Ot-
 toman

J.C. 1723. toman emperor and the czar of Russia to solicit
 Heg. 1135,
 & 1136. succours. It was already known that Shah Thamas had concluded a treaty with Peter the Great. They learned during the same ramazan, that the Khilan, a province on the coast of the Caspian sea, had just submitted to the Russian arms, and that Shah Thamas confirmed all these conquests to the czar, on condition that the Russian monarch should assist him to drive the Asghvans out of his empire. The Persian ambassador was badly received at Constantinople; he could not see the grand seignior but at his coming out of a mosque during the beiram. He delivered to him, in the same manner as the lowest of the populace could have done, a memorial in behalf of his master, conceived in the most humble and pressing terms. Achmet III. replied to this sort of request, as he always did, by giving it to his grand vizier. They had not dared receive this Persian as the character with which he was invested seemed to require, because the people, equally dissatisfied that war was not declared against the Russians, and that government seemed to incline towards Shah Thamas against the Asghvans, who were Sunnite Mussulmen, threatened a sedition that might have broken out during the ceremony of the audience.

J.C. 1723.
 Heg. 1136.
 Hostilities
 against
 Russia.

Meanwhile, nothing was talked of at Constantinople but a war against Russia. The bashaw of Diarbekar had entered into the province of Shirvan; and the Armenians of Nakfivan, displeased with their unfortunate king Shah Thamas, who had

had been so indiscreet as to treat those subjects with rigour who remained faithful to him, invited the bashaw of Van to come and take possession of their country. This chief had no difficulty to drive out of a desolated province what Persian soldiers were left there. The Turks, always taking advantage of the disorder and misfortunes of their neighbours, penetrated as far as Amadan; but they met with so little opposition, that this success scarcely deserved the name of a conquest.

During the rejoicings which these advantages occasioned at Constantinople, and which were mixed with those of the beiram, the conferences appointed between the grand vizier, the reis effendi, and the Russian resident, commenced under the eyes of the French ambassador. The time for the campaign drew near. Ibrahim obtained, by the advice of the marquis of Bonac, that Achmet should appoint a general divan, where all the principal persons of the ulema and the general officers should be called. The grand vizier laid before this assembly the situation of affairs, the claims of the czar, those of the Porte, and the disputes that might raise up a war between the two empires. The fear of becoming suspected either by the ulema or the troops, prevented his recommending conciliatory measures, which he so much wished; but as all the members of the divan were for having war declared against the czar, the druggerman

J.C. 1724.
Heg. 1131.

Mediation
of the mar-
quis of
Bonac.
Confe-
rences be-
tween the
ministers
of the
Porte and
the envoy
of the
czar.

J.C. 1724.
Heg. 1136.

of the Porte desired permission to enter the assembly in behalf of the French ambassador. Being admitted, he desired leave to present the proposals of the mediator. When he had obtained it, he began by declaring, that the parties were of a mind, as the czar confined himself to the borders of the Caspian sea, which the Turks had no thoughts of conquering, and that he would voluntarily abandon to the Ottomans Georgia and all Armenia, provinces more fertile and nearer the frontiers of the empire; that the Ottoman Porte should never think of conquering all Persia, since history taught, that dominions too much extended had always been destroyed by disunion, after long and bloody wars; that it was easy to draw a line of limits, to separate the provinces that should belong to Russia, from those which the Porte would reserve to itself; that this agreement would spare much blood, and fix the chances of a war, always doubtful and ruinous; that it was not the interest of the Porte to oppose the rise of Russia, since that power, become more formidable, would keep the house of Austria in awe, the almost natural enemy of the Mussulmen; that in fine though neither the French ambassador nor he, the druggerman, were well versed in the Alcoran, both being Christians, they were however of opinion that the Afghans were wrongly considered as Sunnites and orthodox Mussulmen, since they would not acknowledge the powerful emperor of the Turks for commander of the

Faithful;

Faithful ; that therefore it was both reason and ^{J.C. 1724.}
 justice to take up arms against the usurpers for the ^{Heg. 1136.} son of the sophi, the lawful inheritor of Persia, making him pay for the succours which should re-place him on the throne, with provinces that should settle the Ottoman power on the most solid foundation. This discourse, which lasted more than half an hour, pronounced with precision and clearness, made a great impression on the assembly. It stifled particularly the clamours of the ulema. The grand vizier having asked the mufti, if a prince who refused to acknowledge the commander of the Faithful could be considered as a Sunnite, and if it was not enjoined to reduce him by force of arms, the chief of the law replied, that, as the true Mussulmen had but one God, they should have but one master to represent that God on earth. Ibrahim having taken the votes immediately after this answer, three parts of the assembly were of the druggerman's opinion, to recommence the conferences with the Russian resident, under the mediation of the French ambassador. "Since this is your opinion," said the grand vizier rising, "I will go and inform the emperor of it." This prince, as much pleased as surprised at the sudden change, admitted the druggerman of the Porte into his presence, for him to repeat what he had just said in the divan. This was perhaps the first time that a druggerman was introduced into the inner rooms of the seraglio. He was loaded with pre-

Peace is
resolved on
in the
divan.

J.C. 1724. Heg. 1136. sents, and, a little time after, Achmet placed him
 on the throne of Moldavia.

The conferences were recommenced the next day, and the preliminaries were soon settled. The marquis of Bonac sent a relation of his with these preliminaries to the czar, and to receive the orders of that prince. Peter the Great did not fail of approving conditions that granted him every thing which he had claimed ; but when Mr. Dusson Daillon (that was the name of the marquis's relation) had brought back Peter the Great's accession to the treaty, there were again long debates, as the Turkish ministers were afraid the people would dislike to see the Mussulman Tartars under the sceptre of a Christian prince. The marquis of Bonac repeated to them several times, that these Tartars came from the dominions of the Aliians, whom the Sunnites looked upon as Giaurs as well as the Christians. The desire which the grand seignior and his prime minister had for peace, made them stifle all fear. They caused their consent to be preceded by a fetfa from the mufti, which declared the Asghvans heretics, usurpers, and rebels. A few days after the publication of this mandate, which great care was taken to distribute in Constantinople and all the great towns of the empire, the treaty was signed.

Conditions
of the
treaty.

It contained six articles, preceded by a preamble, in which was mentioned the cession made to the czar by prince Thamas of the provinces bordering

bordering on the Caspian sea. The first article J.C. 1724.
fixed the barrier between Russia and Turkey, by Heg. 1136.
means of a line drawn at sixty-six miles from the
sea on the confines of the Daghestan, passing at a
like distance from the shore of Derbent, and ending
at the confluence of the Kur and Araxes: by
the same article the contracting parties were to
name commissioners, and desire a mediator from
France for the execution of this clause, and that
both should be at liberty to build forts on their
own territories. By the second article, the town
of Schamachya, the capital of the Shirvan, which
was to remain under the sovereignty of the Porte,
could not be fortified on any pretence, and the
grand seignior was not to keep a garrison there
but with the consent of Russia, in case of an insur-
rection, and solely for that time; the grand
seignior engaged likewise never to let his troops
pass the river Kur, without informing the czar of
it. The third article fixed the limits of the
Turkish empire and of the kingdom of Persia, by
a line which commenced where the other ended:
that is to say, at the confluence of the Kur and
Araxes. In the fourth, the czar promised his
mediation or his forces to procure the voluntary
cession of, or to conquer by a common effort, the
provinces guarantied to the grand seignior by this
treaty: the contracting parties agreed, that if
Shah Thamas refused to accede to it, they would
begin with conquering those provinces which they
had divided between them but were not in pos-
session

J.C. 1724. session of, and that they would conjointly make
Heg. 1136. themselves masters of the rest of Persia, to give it
to him whom the two parties should unanimously
judge most worthy of reigning, without the
Porte or Russia's being able to keep any other
province than those which they had mutually at-
tributed to each other in the preceding articles.
In the fifth, the grand seignior engaged to ac-
knowledge Shah Thamas for king of Persia, and
to give him every necessary succour to re-place
him on his throne, on condition of his con-
senting to the treaty. Lastly, by the sixth article,
if Shah Thamas refused this agreement and the
succours of Turkey, the Russians and Turks
would agree together to place any other prince
than Mir Mamout on the throne, in whose favor
they would never hear any proposal. This treaty
was signed the eighth of July. The ratification
of the czar arrived soon, and the exchange was
solemnly made the next day at the grand vizier's.
The chancellor of the French embassy prepared the
necessary acts, and the marquis of Bonac signed
in quality of mediator. He was clothed on this
occasion with a cloak of sable, an honor that had
never yet been received by any minister but the
ambassador from the emperor of the West after the
peace of Passarowitz; and the czar conferred the
Order of St. Andrew on him.

Shah Thamas having learned in his retreat that
his pretended friends had parted between them the
best part of his dominions, to pay themselves in
advance

advance for the succour that they intended him, fell into the most violent despair. He sent back the czar's resident, bidding him tell his master, that he would not think of accepting succours which were to be sold him at so dear a rate, and which he thought too well paid for already by the giving up of the Daghestan and Shirvan. He menaced in his letter this ally, whom he called a perfidious man, and told him that Providence was already come to his succour, since the usurper Mamout, after having been beaten by the people of the Khilan, who were tired of his tyranny, had been obliged to raise the siege of Ield in Irac!

J.C. 1724.
Heg. 1136.
& 1737.

The sophi
Shah Tha-
mas ex-
presses his
dissatisfa-
ction at it to
the czar.

And indeed fortune began to forsake Mir Mamout, and his disgraces raised up the seditious complaints of his soldiers. They reproached him with having let the Persians in their turn triumph over his courage, by infecting him with their manners, their sensuality, their effeminacy, and even their religion, which he had the weakness to tolerate and partly to adopt, to please them. They talked with enthusiasm of a lieutenant of Mir Mamout's, called Aschraf, whom that jealous prince had sent out of the way, because the soldiers, who had often vanquished under the orders of that general, were continually extolling his talents, sagacity, and bravery. The reiterated clamours of the Asghvans constrained Mamout to recall Aschraf after a few months. The usurper of the Persian throne, full of talents for war, and of that ferocious valour which braves perils and delights

Affairs in
Persia.

J.C. 1724. delights in blood, absolutely wanted that moral
 Heg. 1136,
 & 1137. courage which sagacity alone can give. Mir
 Mamout, incapable of resisting his prejudices,
 and of seeking to regain the public esteem,
 thought to put a stop to the clamours of the sol-
 diery, by the execution of those who had the
 boldness to make him just reproaches. This
 cruelty naturally increased the number of the
 malecontents. The imprudent Mir Mamout,
 who began to fear the fate which he had himself
 made Shah Hussein suffer, fancied he should pa-
 cify his army by austere practices of religion, and
 that in an intimate acquaintance with God he should
 receive lights that would enable him to manage a
 people of soldiers little under subjection. He
 resolved to execute the *Riadbiat*, which is an ab-
 solute retreat that the dervises and most devout
 of the Mussulmen sometimes impose on them-
 selves. It consists in shutting one's self up for
 several weeks in a dark place, without taking
 any other food than a little bread and water
 once in twenty-four hours, repeating almost
 without interval the name of all the attributes of
 God. This toilsome exercise causes the person
 who condemns himself to it to fall into an agi-
 tated sleep, during which the unusual diet occa-
 sions him dreams which he does not fail to take for
 extasies. Mir Mamout must have been very little
 better than a madman, to condemn himself to this
 absurd practice, in a time when his presence was
 so necessary at the head of his people.

When

When he came out of his dungeon, after a month of this odd austerity, he had quite lost his reason. The first order that he gave was to bring Shah Hufsein's children into a court of the palace, where they were guarded to the number of seventy. Shah Thamas alone, of this unfortunate race, had escaped during the siege of Ispahan. When these young victims came before Mir Mamout, he had their hands tied with their girdles, and having armed himself with a poniard, began to massacre them himself. The unfortunate Shah Hufsein, drawn by the cries of his dying children, ran to this bloody scene, when only the two youngest were left to slaughter, the eldest of whom was five years old. The old king covered them with his body, which he offered to the blows of the abominable executioner. Mir Mamout struck Shah Hufsein in several places, without being able to touch the two children, to whom this wretched father gave life a second time. The monster, weakened by his long fast and by his rage, fell down with fatigue before he was able to complete his design. His followers, less barbarous, saved the three last victims, escaped from the frenzy of their master. Heaven began in this life the chastisement which so many cruelties merited. A few days after the massacre of Shah Hufsein's children, the tyrant was attacked with an inward distemper that gnawed his bowels, and which,

Massacre of
Shah Huf-
sein's chil-
dren by Mir
Mamout.

Chastise-
ments of
Heaven.

J.C. 1725. having broken out about his body, covered him
 Heg. 1137,
 & 1138. with a leprosy almost all over.

Aschraf
 succeeds
 the usurp-
 er, and has
 him put to
 death.

Meanwhile Shah Thamas, who had found resources among his father's subjects, who had revolted against the tyranny of the Asghvans, advanced into Irac with eighteen thousand men. The Asghvans, assembled, resolved to oppose a crowned head to this lawful prince who claimed the heritage of his ancestors. They chose this same Aschraf, Mir Mamout's lieutenant, whom the tyrant had a second time sent out of the way through jealousy, and whom he still kept in prison at the time when he was elected king of Persia. Without doubt it was impossible to be more ferocious than Mir Mamout ; but his successor could add ingratitudo and perfidy to it. After having caused his wretched predecessor to be massacred, whose rage was arrived at such a pitch that he tore his own flesh wherever he could bring his teeth, Aschraf condemned those to the same lot who had procured him the authority ; but he had the address to go first and offer the crown to Shah Husein, whom he called the lawful sovereign, without doubt to get rid of him, if the unfortunate prince had accepted what was his right. The old king, taught by misfortune, contented himself with asking the new monarch to grant him protection for himself and children, whom he had saved, at the expence of his blood, from the frenzy of his predecessor. In order to obtain this favor, Shah Husein was again obliged

obliged to sign his renunciation of the throne and submission to king Aschraf, of which he gave the example to his ancient subjects. The tyrant caused this act to be read aloud in the same assembly, where he condemned twenty Persian lords and twenty Asghvans to death, who had been the first to declare him successor to Mir Mamout. We cannot conjecture the pretext of this new massacre, since Aschraf himself had caused his predecessor to be put to death; but his intention was to fill the treasury with the riches of these proscribed persons, and to free himself from those who might give him umbrage. A more dangerous one existed than all the rest, and whom it would not have been prudent to attack openly.

Shah Thamas was encamped at thirty miles from Ispahan: he received reinforcements every day, and longed to revenge his family and country. Aschraf had caused sometime before a proposal to be made to Shah Hussein's son, to restore him the throne of his ancestors, when himself, persecuted by Mir Mamout, was meditating to throw off the yoke that oppressed him. As soon as he was king, he sent an ambassador to Shah Thamas to tell him, that it was only on the refusal of his father that he had ascended the throne of Ispahan, which he had accepted with no other design than to secure it for him Shah Thamas. He proposed an interview to him, in order to put an end in concert to the misfortunes of Persia, and settle at the same time the rights of the Asghvans.

J.C. 1725.
Heg. 1137,
& 1138.

He puts
those to
death like-
wife who
raised him
to the
throne.

Aschraf
desires a
conference
with Shah
Thamas,
in which
he endeavours
to surprise
him.

J.C. 1725. and those of the house of the sophi. He like-
 Heg. 1137,
 & 1138. wise sent circular letters to the several towns
 which held out for the prince, in order to assure
 the commanders, that the Asghvans would not
 commit any act of hostility before the conference
 proposed with Shah Thamas. These pacific ap-
 pearances deceived the sophi's son, whom Aschraf's
 ambassador found encamped near Casbin. This
 prince appointed a plain between Com and Theran
 for the place of the interview, and sent word to
 the usurper, that he would be there attended by
 three thousand men only, which would be suffi-
 cient for his escort, since he, Aschraf, had pro-
 mised not to bring more troops with him. Some
 Persians at the court of the tyrant, by a remaining
 respect for the blood of their ancient master,
 wrote to Shah Thamas to persuade him not to
 make any agreement, nor even to accept of any
 interview, with a barbarian, who joined perfidy
 to cruelty. These letters were intercepted and
 their authors put to death.

Meanwhile Shah Thamas advanced with con-
 fidence towards the snare that was laid for him.
 The plain which he had appointed for the inter-
 view was surrounded with woods, in which the
 tyrant had en-ambushed twelve thousand men
 besides the escort agreed on. Aslan, Shah Tha-
 mas's lieutenant, greatly attached to his master,
 and whose affection rendered him suspicious, would
 fain advance at the head of the greatest part of the
 escort, leaving the prince at about two miles be-
 hind

hind with a hundred men only. A young Per- J.C. 1725.
sian, superbly mounted and covered with rich Heg. 1137,
armour, appeared to be Shah Thamas, as Aslan had
expected. Immediately Aschraf's troops came out
of their ambush, and the three thousand Persians
were on the point of being surrounded, when Aslan
sent off a messenger full speed to his master, to
warn him of his danger. This prince fled into
the mountains of Masanderan, where he remained
concealed, because Aschraf, after having cut his
escort to pieces, made a march forward, which
separated Shah Thamas from his army. These
troops were soon dispersed, and the lawful sovereign
found himself constrained to hide his existence
from enemies who sought to put him to death.

& 1138.

Shah Tha-
mas, obli-
ged to flee,
is separated
from his
army,
which is
soon dis-
persed.

Such was the state of Persia, when the treaty
was concluded between Russia and the Porte by Division of
the arrival of Mr. Romenzof, envoy extraordinary
from the czar for the ratification, and commis- Persia.
sioner for the limits that were to be marked out.
The discontent which Shah Thamas had shewn at
this treaty, excused the Turks from assisting him
as they had offered. They saw themselves mas-
ters of Georgia, almost all Armenia, and the go-
vernment of Hamadan. The czar possessed all
the west coast of the Caspian sea, Korazan, Ker-
man and Candahar; the governments of Ispahan
and Chiraz were under the sceptre of Aschraf.
The empire of the sophis no longer consisted but
of Adirbijan, Masanderan, and some parts of Irac;
and the people of these provinces were faith-
ful

J.C. 1725. ful only to the shadow of their lawful sovereign,
Sieg. 1137,
& 1138. whom they no longer saw. The citizens of Tauris
 defended their town three weeks without the as-
Success of
the Turks
in the part
usurped by
Aschraf. sistance of any regular troops against a hundred
 and ten thousand Turks commanded by the ba-
 shaw of Van. This town, which is one of the
 largest in Persia, was badly fortified. The valour
 of the besieged served only to make them lose
 more people. Forty thousand men, among whom
 there was not a single soldier, perished in arms.
 This conquest cost the vanquisher very dear ; he
 was killed the day the place was reduced. His
 kiaia, who had the glory to make the capitulation,
 took Gangea a few days after, a town richer, but
 worse fortified, than Tauris. The bashaw of Bag-
 dad, on whom the command of the army devolved,
 advanced towards the capital. He had taken se-
 veral small places by assault, which drew him
He sends
an embassy
to Constan-
tinople. nearer Ispahan. Aschraf, frightened at the success
 of the Ottoman arms, sent an ambassador to the
 Porte, whose arrival flattered the presumption of
 the monarch and of his vizier. Both thought
 the Persian ambassador was going to humble his
 pride at the foot of the throne of Constantinople,
 and to acknowledge himself a vassal tributary and
 removeable at pleasure, as the khan of the Tar-
 tars, and as every Sunnite Mussulman ought to
 be, under the protection and sceptre of the com-
 mander of the Faithful. But when they learned
 that Aschraf meant to treat with the emperor of
 the Ottomans on an equality, the divan would
 not

not give his minister the title of ambassador. He J.C. 1725.
was stopped at Scutari, because, they said, he Heg. 1137.
could not be an ambassador who represented only
a rebel. & 1138.

Abdulazis, (that was the name of Aschraf's How re-
representative,) could never obtain an audience ceived.
of the monarch. Conducting himself always with
as much haughtiness to the Turks as he expe-
rienced from them, he refused to let the grand
vizier have any thing but a copy of the letter
addressed to his master, which contained the pre-
tensions of Aschraf, and in which he took the
pompous title of king of kings. On the seal of
these letters were engraved two Arabian verses,
which may be thus translated: *The blood of our
enemies is our drink, and their sculls serve us for
cups.* In the private conferences which this
Asghvan had with the reis effendi, he insisted
that his master was a lawful prince like the Otto-
man emperor: that Aschraf's elevation had been
more agreeable to God than that of any other
prince; since it had been operated by the arms
of the Sunnites on the ruins of the throne of the
Aliians, whom the Alcoran orders to be exter-
minated, and that his master and his predecessors,
without any other succour than their zeal and
courage, had beaten down the enemy of God,
whilst the Ottoman emperors had been sleeping
on their throne amidst so much power and riches;
that if the Ottoman emperor thought to be com-
mander of the Faithful in the countries under
his

J.C. 1725. his obedience, Aschraf had a still better title to it
 Heg. 1137,
 & 1138. in that which he had conquered and was going to conquer; since his valour had extended the empire of truth, and that for the future, thanks to his conquests, the Sunnite dominions would be too extensive to obey one potentate. All the discussion between the ministers of the Porte and Aschraf's envoy was confined to the superiority claimed by the Ottoman emperor, and constantly denied by the usurper. The ministers, who had never sufficiently explained the grounds of this quarrel to the people, and who perceived the necessity of convincing them that the Asghvans were not real Sunnites, published the demands of Aschraf, and the fetva of the mufti, which decided, that every Mussulman who presumed to dispute the sovereign power of the Ottoman house was a rebel and a heretic, and consequently deserving of death. Abdulazis was sent back with letters addressed to his master, more haughty and menacing than those which he had brought.

J.C. 1726. Meanwhile the czar, Peter the Great, died.
 Heg. 1138,
 & 1139. His widow, who remained on the throne by the desire of her husband, was too much taken up with maintaining herself thereon, to think of fulfilling the articles of the treaty concluded with the Turks under the mediation of the marquis of Bonac. On her neglecting to send troops to the borders of the Caspian sea, the Turks took advantage of this inaction to encroach on the line which was to be drawn between the present or future

Death of Peter the Great.
 The Russians neglect to send troops into Persia.

ture conquests of the two powers. Mr. Romenzof, J.C. 1726.
the commissioner sent for this purpose, pressed
the Turks to finish it. They sent off the com-
missioner who was to stipulate for them; but,
though Mr. Daillon, the relation of the marquis
of Bonac who had been sent into Russia two years
before, had been named by the court of France
to assist in this business, the marquis of Andrefel,
the successor of the marquis of Bonac, had re-
ceived orders from Versailles, not only to sus-
pend the mediation, but likewise to thwart the
Russians at the Porte with all his power. This
change in the court of France proceeded from
their having received certain intelligence of the
czarina's having formed a secret alliance with the
emperor of the West.

Heg. 1138,
& 1139.

These circumstances animated the Turks; they
no longer talked but of conquests. Achmet ba-
shaw, the Turkish general, menaced Ispahan, in which the usurper had fortified himself. As the
barbarous policy of his predecessors and himself
had greatly diminished the number of the inha-
bitants of this capital, he thought to defend him-
self better by forming an enclosure within the
walls of a less extent, which, in less than six
months, was fortified in the eastern manner; that
is to say, he made a wall, ditches, and redoubts
at equal distances, to oppose his enemies, in case
they should come to attack him. Aschraf pre-
pared likewise another fort of defence more known
among the Persians and more congenial to his

The Turks
prepare for
war. De-
fence of
Aschraf.

J.C. 1726.
Heg. 1138,
& 1139.

ferocious soul ; this was to ruin all the country from Casbin to Ispahan, in order to impede the march of the enemy ; and, mixing hypocrisy with cruelty, he spread a manifesto in the army of Achmet bashaw, which contained in substance, that he, Aschraf, saw with grief Mussulmen obstinately bent on destroying one another ; that this impious war had lasted but too long ; that he called God and his prophet to witness his disposition for peace ; and that he would neglect nothing to facilitate its completion.

He sends
some effen-
dis into the
Turkish
camp.

In fact, he chose from his nation four effendis, venerable by their age, their doctrine, and their manners, whom he sent into the camp of the enemy under the safeguard of the law of mankind. Achmet bashaw received these deputies with honor in the middle of his council of war. The oldest of them, speaking in the name of the whole, said, that Aschraf their sovereign lord had sent them to Mussulmen, his brethren and friends, to invite them to sheathe the sword, which they ought to reproach themselves with having drawn against true Believers, faithful observers of their law, and destroyers of the throne of the Alians ; that Aschraf, though astonished at being treated as an enemy by Sunnite Mussulmen, had had much difficulty to believe that the Ottomans could have solicited the alliance of the Christians against a disciple and descendant of Mahomet ; that it was this same Mahomet who had armed him, and that he prayed the God of the holy prophet

prophet not to impute to him a single drop of <sup>J.C. 1726.
Heg. 1138,
& 1139.</sup> the blood that would be spilt, if Achmet III., persisting in his resolution to hinder him from extending the true worship, obliged the Asghvans to make use of their arms against their brethren. The Ottoman general perceived the impression which the old man's pathetic discourse made on the assembly. He replied, that, agreeably to the law insisted on by the Asghvans, he neither knew nor could know but one sole commander of the Faithful; that it was that prince, the successor of Mahomet, and God's lieutenant on earth, who had sent him against the man who endeavoured to dissuade the Mussulmen from their obedience; and that, if Aschraf persisted in his rebellion, he would soon know on which side the good cause was. The general had hardly done speaking when the moisins* called and announced it was noon, which is the hour of the third prayer ordered by Mahomet as the most solemn of the day. The four Asghvan effendis, without replying to the bashaw, fell on their knees with their faces to the east, and gave all the Mussulmen the example to pray; then, raising their voices at the end of their prayer, they conjured Heaven to open the eyes and touch the hearts of these Mussulmen their brethren who would be their enemies. The deputies retired immediately with the escort that brought them. This step produced one part of the effect which Aschraf had

* The moisins are those who call the people to prayer. T.

J.C. 1726. expected from it. A number of soldiers, touched
 Heg. 1138,
 & 1139. with the eloquence and outward appearance of
 these effendis, followed them to the usurper's
 camp. Achmet bashaw, having sent armed
 troops after these deserters, had the mortification
 to see the major part of them desert likewise.
 The Turkish general, in order to prevent a more
 considerable defection, resolved to give battle
 as soon as possible ; and, the next day, having
 made a march forward, he found himself close
 to the enemy, who had advanced with the same
 celerity.

Victory of
the Afghans over
the Turks.

Much valour was shewn the following day on
 both sides. After a rather equal fight of eight
 hours, Aschraf, seeing the victory declare for his
 troops, took a flute and began to play on the ele-
 phant which carried him, either to brave the ene-
 my, or inspire his soldiers with more confidence.
 When the Turks had lost twelve thousand of
 their soldiers they were seized with a panic ; they
 fled, and Aschraf, who was desirous of pleasing
 them even in war, forbade to pursue the fugi-
 tives, saying, that it was with regret he saw the
 swords of Mussulmen dipped in Mahometan
 blood. He sent the Turks, who had retreated
 more than thirty miles, a great deal of baggage
 and booty, which he would not permit his men
 to plunder. He also sent a sort of herald, to
 declare from him to Achmet bashaw, that, not
 considering booty between people of the same
 religion as lawful, he wished to take possession
 of

of his dominions as a magnanimous prince, and J.C. 1726.
 not like a freebooter enriched with the substance Heg. 1138,
 of his brethren ; that, in consequence, Achmet & 1139.
 might send for his treasure, equipages, and Afchraf
 generally all that his troops had left in their draws a
 camp after their defeat, except only the arms. number of
 This same officer brought back to the Turks Turkish
 a great number of prisoners, who highly extolled
 the kindness of the usurper. This conduct, more
 ingenious than could have been expected from a
 barbarian, gained him the love of those whom he
 had just vanquished. Every day his army was in-
 creased by those whom the good treatment they
 experienced in the camp of the Asghvans detached
 from the party of the Turks.

The news of the victory of the Asghvans, and Revolt at
 the desertion which daily diminished the Ottoman GrandCai-
 army, being arrived at Constantinople, had the ro, which
 greater effect there, as they had just learned that occasions a
 a rebellion had broken out in Egypt. The peace with
 beis, Egyptian lords who compose a sort of senate the Per-
 to which the government is intrusted, did not fians.
 agree between themselves ; and the bashaw of
 Grand Cairo, who is rather an envoy invested
 with an honorable title than a provincial gover-
 nor, had been driven from that town for having
 imprudently endeavoured to support the weakest
 party with the authority of the grand seignior.
 An army was on the point of being sent into
 Egypt, and the people and janissaries cried aloud,
 that the Ottoman arms were no longer employed
 but

J.C. 1726. but against Mussulmen: The pacific Ibrahim
 Heg. 1138,
 & 1139. had no difficulty to make his master perceive
 that it was time to conclude a peace with Aschraf,
 if he would preserve the conquests made in Per-
 sia, and manage the humour of the people, who
 should never be occupied with disputes on re-
 ligion. Achmet bashaw, instead of the reinforce-
 ments which he desired from the Porte, received
 instructions to enter on a treaty. Aschraf, who had
 learned with some inquietude that Shah Thamas
 was assembling a new army in the Mafanderan,
 began to fear lest he should be attacked the fol-
 lowing campaign by three enemies at once. He
 listened to propositions which he had formerly
 made himself. The most difficult matter to settle
 was the universal sovereignty claimed by Achmet
 III. and denied by Aschraf. While both had
 hoped to vanquish, each had remained untractable
 with regard to what established the foundation of
 his power. But the desire of a peace made them
 seek and find palliatives. After a rather long
 discussion, the grand seignior was confirmed in
 the quality of chief of the Mussulmen and lawful
 successor of the caliphs. It was decided, that he
 should be stiled such in the koubé or public prayer
 used throughout Persia, but that Aschraf should
 be acknowledged by Achmet III. lawful and irre-
 revocable sovereign of the kingdom of Persia, and
 named as such in the koubé after the grand
 seignior. The right to coin money and ad-
 minister justice was solemnly and irrevocably granted
 him

Aschraf
 acknow-
 ledged king
 of Persia.

him in all the provinces which he possessed, and those that he might conquer; Georgia and the other territories which Achmet III. had conquered in Persia were declared to belong to the Ottoman sceptre. Aschraf thought to gain considerably by this peace, even in acknowledging Achmet III. for commander of the Faithful, because the chief of the law having acknowledged him in his turn for lawful sovereign of Persia, no Sunnite could any longer contest with him this sovereignty conquered from the Alians. The peace was signed by Achmet bashaw and by Aschraf in his own camp. He affected great pomp on this occasion. The immense riches found in Ispahan decorated the usurper's tent, who was desirous of giving the Turks a high idea of the power of him whom they had made so much difficulty to treat as sovereign.

The rebellion at Grand Cairo was the occasion of this peace. However, there was no necessity to agree with enemies in order to give way to disobedient subjects as Achmet III. did. One of the twenty-seven beis who governed Egypt had revolted in concert with the soldiery; he had seized on the treasury, and refused to send to Constantinople the twelve hundred purses, the product of the imposts or rather tribute: for the Egyptians pay a fixed sum to the grand seignior. The grand vizier Ibrahim contented himself with changing the bashaw of Grand Cairo, as if the rebels had only made a lawful resistance against tyranny.

The grand
vizier ap-
peals the
troubles
both at
GrandCai-
ro, and
Smyrna.

J.C. 1726.
Heg. 1138.
& 1139.

J.C. 1727.
Heg. 1139,
& 1140. tyranny. However, by means of caresses, they drew the bei of Grand Cairo, the author of the revolt, to Constantinople; and, as weak governments are often obliged to substitute treachery for the want of authority, this Egyptian, who had been loaded with honors, and had had the interest to have the bashaw of Grand Cairo deposed, was thrown into the sea in a leather sack in the night, lest his friends, on being informed of his fate, should attempt to avenge his death. This conduct produced the effect which should have been expected, that is to say, the supposed impunity soon invited other revolts. This is the property of despotic governments, when they are weak, the subalterns tyrannise, and the oppressed at last throw off the yoke. A servant of Ibrahim's, whom that vizier had put in some office at Smyrna, occasioned by his bad conduct a revolt of all the janissaries in garrison in that town. The malecontents proposed nothing less than to seize on Smyrna, and to keep it 'till the grand vizier should be punished. A bashaw of two-tails, called Abdalla, who was bringing back ten thousand men from Persia, quelled this rebellion by his address and firmness. A hundred of the most seditious were punished, notwithstanding the general amnesty which Abdalla had promised. This insurrection, which had no other disagreeable consequences at that time, left deep traces in the hearts of those who hated the grand vizier. Nevertheless, the peace which he
had

had concluded with Aschraf was one of the most glorious that the Ottomans had ever made with Persia, as the latter granted the Porte a great part of that vast kingdom, and the acknowledged superiority over almost all the rest. The glory of this treaty had silenced Ibrahim's enemies for some time, and made people say to his friends, that the profound knowledge of the grand vizier was more useful to the Porte in the cabinet, than the valour of conquerors had been to it on the frontiers at the head of armies.

This prosperity was soon eclipsed by a phenomenon, of which no one knew the origin, and which none of the powers who occupied the theatre of the world could have feared or expected. Aschraf, almost as contented with the new treaty as the Turks, was meditating to recover the Persian dominions invaded by Russia, when he learned that Shah Thamas, whom he had believed for more than a year hidden in the hole of some rock, had, with twenty thousand men, made himself master of Masched, one of the principal towns of the Korazan; that he had made a triumphant entry there, and seized all the riches of that city to pay his troops, which the superstition of the Persians, or rather the policy of the sophi Abbas I. had made the rival of Mecca; that this army, assembled as by a miracle, had recovered all the Korazan, and that the conquest of this great province had cost him only the trouble of overrunning it. It was not to the talents of Shah Thamas

J.C. 1727.
Heg. 1139,
& 1140.

J.C. 1728.
Heg. 1140,
& 1141.

Thamas
Kouli-
khan, his
origin and
first suc-
cesses.

J.C. 1728.
Heg. 1140,
& 1141. that this astonishing success was to be attributed. Misfortune had not unfolded in him a germ which nature had not placed in his soul. Worthy son of Shah Hussein, he would have died in obscurity or slavery, if Providence had not raised him up an avenger. This was Nadir Ali-Gagatir, so celebrated since by the name of Thamas Kouli-khan. This man, one of those whom centuries rarely produce, had from his infancy been desirous of making conquests. He was the son of one of those rich pastors of the Korazan, who still preserve in some corners of Asia the manners which we believe to have existed in the remotest antiquity only. Young Nadir, who was not born for such an idle life, sold at Masched, which was near his residence, seven hundred sheep, which his father had put under his care. With this money he raised a troop of freebooters, and began to pillage the caravans that came to Masched. This trade, which is not so vile in the eyes of the Persians and Tartars as in those of the Europeans, could not satisfy the rapacity of Nadir. After seven years spent in this occupation, being tired of stripping defenceless pilgrims, he proposed to the companions of his exploits, whom his reputation had increased to the number of five thousand, to make a more glorious war and take towns for the sophi, who had been so unjustly dethroned.

This overture being eagerly embraced, Nadir instantly made himself master of Nischabour, a rich

rich town badly fortified, after which he went in J.C. 1728.
 search of the unfortunate prince in a small town
 called Fernadad, where he was concealing his
 misery from the search of his enemies, and he at
 once offered the son of his master his riches,
 his talents, and his soldiers. The young sophi
 received this warrior as an angel sent from Hea-
 ven, as the power of God which declared for the
 cause of the just. This is the language which
 Thamas made use of in their first interview.
 With this succour he soon recovered all the Ko- He recov-
razan. The name of Nadir suddenly reanimated
vers two
provinces.

the servants of the sophi, whom fear had kept
 from attempting to assist him.

The Asghvans of Candahar, who had been the
 first to rebel against Shah Husein, were the first
 to return to the obedience of his son. Nadir
 vanquished the Abdalians in two pitched battles;
 these were Tartars in subjection to Aschraf. The
 winter, which came on too soon, obliged the new
 conqueror to go into the quarters which he had
 just subdued, where he employed himself in pre-
 paring his troops for the operations of the next
 campaign.

It seemed as if the throne of Persia was always
 to be the downfall of those who should presume
 to seat themselves thereon. Shah Husein, who
 was born to it, had done nothing right whilst he
 held the sceptre: Mir Mamout, whom the Asgh-
 vans had chosen for king, had successively lost the
 esteem of his people, his reason, and his life.

Heg. 1140,
 & 1141.

He resolves
 to assist
 Shah Tha-
 mas.

J.C. 1728. Aschraf, whom all the Persians his friends or
Heg. 1140,
& 1141. enemies had considered as a great general and a profound politician, who, before he reigned, had so much excited the jealousy of his master, was become a prince as effeminate as cruel. The pleasures of his table, his gardens, and his wives, occupied the time that he might have better employed in establishing his power, as yet on a tottering foundation. He had been king only to shew himself a tyrant ; and as soon as he had turned his eyes from executions, he no longer fixed them but on objects of luxury or debauchery, where he let them grow dull by the slumber of indolence. The example of the master soon influenced the subjects : ministers, generals, soldiers, all resigned themselves to the repose and sweets of plenteousness ; and the sword with which they had conquered Persia became too heavy for their hands. The troops seemed unable to cope with the Tartarian freebooters whom Nadir had hardened and disciplined, and to whom he had given such an example of sobriety, and of patience in military fatigues (which is not less necessary than the contempt of danger), as is hardly to be credited. Though the Candahar was already reduced to the obedience of Shah Thamas, the army of Aschraf was still composed of these Asghvans who had been the first authors of the troubles ; few Persians marched under his ensigns. His predecessors and himself had exterminated all those

those who had acquired some name in arms, and J.C. 1729.
who might have served him usefully. Heg. 1141,
& 1142.

Aschraf awoke from his supineness when he learned that Shah Thamas had already wrested two provinces from him. He left two or three hundred men in Ispahan, (a sufficient garrison to keep the people who inhabited that capital in subjection,) and set forward at the head of thirty-five thousand men, displaying with affectation all the Asiatic pageantry, fitter to animate than intimidate the sort of soldiers which he had to fight against. Nadir, who knew his enemy perfectly, wished to fatigue him first by forced marches in a country divided by mountains, obliging him to decamp continually. He drew him three hundred miles from Ispahan into the little province of Com. At length when Nadir thought he had harassed his enemy enough, he gave him battle, and put him to flight the first onset. The difficulty was no longer to fight, but to join Aschraf, who fled with so much precipitation, that in twenty-four hours the broken remains of his army rallied at Theran, which was said to be three days march from the field of battle. After this action, Nadir changed his name to that of Thamas Kouli-khan, which signifies in Persian, *Slave of Thamas*. Aschraf continued fleeing almost with the same celerity 'till he arrived at Ispahan, when he ordered the soldiers and citizens to retire into the fort of citadel which he had made; and leaving as many soldiers

Aschraf
marches
against
Nadir.

The latter
gives him
battle and
forces him
to flee.

Nadir
takes the
name of
Thamas
Kouli-
khan.

there

J.C. 1729. there as were necessary to defend it, he marched
 Heg. 1141,
 & 1142.
 with the rest of his troops towards the enemy, and
 encamped thirty miles from the city.

He beats
 Aschraf
 a second
 time, and
 brings
 Shah Tha-
 mas into
 Ispahan.

Meanwhile Kouli-khan, after having enriched his army with the spoils of the vanquished, advanced with easy marches in order not to fatigue his soldiers too much, whom he intended for the greatest exploits. He persuaded Shah Thamas to remain at Theran, whether that he was desirous of having a more absolute command over the troops, or that he already meditated to detach the soldiers from the master whom he had himself chosen; Aschraf waited for him, hoping to repair the disgrace of his last defeat; but the second battle, which was as unfortunate as the first, obliged his army to flee a second time. Aschraf came to Ispahan to collect the broken remains of his army. The joy of those inhabitants who remained there, escaped from the cruelty of the tyrants, was perceiveable notwithstanding the terror which these vanquished tyrants still caused. The Asghvans talked of nothing but murdering all the inhabitants of Ispahan, burning the town, and leaving the vanquisher a heap of ruins only; but these menaces, the language of a savage despair, had no other effect than to keep the Persians shut up 'till a profound silence taught them that Aschraf and his party had abandoned the city. Their joy then shewed itself without constraint. Thamas Kouli-khan was received the next day at Ispahan as the deliverer of the country; and a few days

days after Shah Thamas made a triumphant entry there. But when he had expressed to the man who had restored him his crown, the sentiments of gratitude which he thought he owed him, the silence and solitude which he found in the palace of his ancestors damped his joy considerably. The walls were still stained with the blood that had been shed there. He learned that Shah Husein, whom they had permitted 'till then to lead a miserable life, had been murdered by order of Aschraf at the time when the tyrant left Ispahan. The depopulation of this capital, which a little before had been so flourishing, and all the objects that recalled to mind so many murders, imprinted on the new monarch the marks of profound grief. He learned that the usurper had removed his camp to Chiraz, and that he still kept several princesses of the blood royal captives in that town.

It was then the month of December; but Thamas Kouli-khan, as says the author of the revolutions of Persia, was a man of all seasons. He pursued his enemy across the snow and ice, overtook and beat him twice, without attempting to pursue the fugitives, because, he said, the vanquisher joins with short and thick steps the vanquished who flees swiftly. At length Aschraf, still unfortunate, returned towards the Candahar, losing daily a great many of his men by fatigue, cold, and desertion. Every one was tired of following the fortune of this tyrant, whose cruelties

J.C. 1729.
Heg. 1141,
& 1142.

Kouli-
khan dif.
per ses
Aschraf's
army.

<sup>J.C. 1729.
Heg. 1141,
& 1142.</sup> ties caused him to be abhorred. By favor of this disorder, the princesses of the blood of the sophis broke their chains. At last, Aschraf, no longer capable of facing the smallest party of the enemy's army, resolved to retire into the Candahar, his native country and the cradle of his rebellion. Hussein khan, who commanded in that province, and who had, as we have said, acknowledged the authority of Shah Thamas, learned that the last spark of the rebellion was flown towards his country, and might again rekindle the extinguished flames. He caused Aschraf to be sought for; and discovered him notwithstanding the obscurity with which this vanquished tyrant thought he was surrounded. Some say that he put him to death; others that he sent him to the sophi Shah Thamas, who, to revenge the blood of his father, brothers, and so many subjects, shed this monster's drop by drop, causing him to be torn with curry-combs.

<sup>Different
Persian
embassies.</sup>

Whilst Aschraf was expiating his numerous crimes at Ispahan, great honors were paying at Constantinople to the ambassador that he had sent thither to confirm the peace. A week had scarcely past since this minister had received the vest of sable at the grand seignior's audience, when they learned that his master was fleeing before Thamas Kouli-khan. A very short time after, the news of Aschraf's punishment arrived, which greatly afflicted and humbled the grand vizier Ibrahim, whom his enemies sharply reproached with this boasted

boasted peace from which the authors of it expected so much glory. Another Persian ambassador came soon to demand in the name of Shah Thamas, the provinces which the Porte had, as he said, seized on without right or pretext. This new minister had orders to solicit strongly a speedy answer, and even to quit Constantinople in case of delay. Shah Thamas was in haste to recover his kingdom. Full of resentment against the Porte, which had increased his misfortunes by offering him to avenge them, he meditated to open the campaign betimes, and to take advantage of the indolence of the Turks, who were lulled asleep on the faith of Aschraf.

And indeed, the Porte had never less expected a war. The troops were for the most part disbanded or dispersed. The sultan and the grand vizier, resigned to their pleasures, were occupied only in mutually giving entertainments, the melancholy, odd manner of which paints the character of the Orientals. After gold, Achmet III.'s particular idol was flowers. He was at a great expence to vanquish the seasons. In the depth of winter he raised, by means of art, tulips and pinks, with which he filled some gardens at his seraglios of the Mirrors and Darud Bashaw. These gardens were sheltered by curtains and heated by stoves, in which was burnt odoriferous wood. A vast number of lanterns enlightened these places by night become agreeable in spite of nature. Nightingales and a thousand other

J.C. 1730. birds, distributed along the walls in gilt wire cages,
 Heg. 1142,
 & 1143. filled the air with their melodious notes. This was where Achmet forgot the cares of government and the duties of the throne. He went often to a pleasure house on the banks of the Bosphorus belonging to his grand vizier, become his son-in-law, where that minister had built gardens in imitation of the grand seignior's. He there gave entertainments to his master, to which no woman was admitted, not even the sultaness his wife. There, the emperor of the Ottomans, accompanied by some icoglans and eunuchs, forgot the Persian war, the discontent of the people, the complaints of the janissaries, and even the means to accumulate the heaps of gold which he took pleasure in contemplating. Most commonly shut up in the inner rooms of his haram, he entertained some of his women with the same prospect and the same concerts of birds; and he fell into a violent rage when he was spoken to about preserving Georgia, and opposing arms against the formidable Thamas Kouli-khan.

War is declared
anew a-
gainst Per-
sia.

It was necessary however to give the Persian ambassador an answer. Ibrahim, whose only desire was to preserve the favor of his master, would voluntarily have given up these new conquests, which Achmet III. set so little value on, if he had not feared the ulema, the people, the janissaries, in short, the cries of rebellion, of which the murmurs were beginning to be heard. Necessity constrained him to tell his master, that, if

he would avoid a civil war, he must resolve to re-commence a foreign one. Achmet, stubborn in his weakness, declared, that he would not permit any money to be taken from his treasures, adding, that it was necessary to attend the success of a demand lately made in Sweden of the sums lent to Charles XII. during his residence at Bender.

Meanwhile the Persian ambassador solicited an answer with the more haughtiness, as the reis effendi had entered on a negotiation with him, by order of the grand vizier, and secretly offered him the restoration of Tauris and its territory. The Swedish money was not ready; and Thamas Kouli-khan, already terrible in Asia, threatened to recover, to the great detriment of the usurper, what had been taken from his master with so much injustice. In this extremity Ibrahim found himself forced to have recourse to an expedient very dangerous among the Turks, that of a new impost. On all merchandise sold by retail he laid a duty called bedead, to which recourse had been sometimes had on pressing occasions. This impost was almost arbitrary in its collection, for, being paid in money proportionably to the quality of the merchandise, the collector was the chief judge of this quality, and the merchant, who thought himself aggrieved, had difficulty to obtain justice from the cadi, who did not know the value of the merchandise, and who was also afraid of the credit of the collector.

J.C. 1730.
Heg. 1142,
& 1143.

A new im-
post is laid
on to raise
troops
with.

J.C. 1730. Ibrahim thought to stifle the discontent of the
 Heg. 1142,
 & 1143. people, by publishing, that the grand seignior would march himself into Armenia at the head of a considerable army. In effect, he began to levy troops, and the Persian ambassador was answered, that, with the assistance of God, and according to the principles of the Alcoran, the sword of the Sunnites would defend their conquests against the detractors of the faith. Before the army was quite assembled, the grand seignior thought it right to let the people see him repair in martial array to Scutari camp, the place of rendezvous. He mounted on horseback with all the Ottoman pomp, and having displayed to the eyes of the people a pageantry more dazzling than formidable, he embarked with a numerous retinue in several brigantines which conducted him to Scutari, where he remained several days under tents. He had honored the captain bashaw Mustapha, son-in-law to the grand vizier Ibrahim, with the charge of cai-makan. This young man was to govern Constantinople and the empire in the absence of the grand vizier, who followed his master to the army. Though the residence of the camp looked nearly as splendid and was almost as commodious as that of the seraglio, Achmet could not stick long to the change of his way of life. Under pretence that his presence would be useless to the army whilst it was not quite assembled, he left this scene of war to go into his seraglio of the

The em-
peror
marches to
Scutari ;
and, after
a rather
short resi-
dence, re-
tires to his
seraglio of
the Mir-
rors.

the Mirrors and seek again his women, his heaps J.C. 1730.
of gold, his nightingales, and his tulips; and all Heg. 1142,
the officers of the divan withdrew, at his example, & 1143.
into the pleasure houses which they had on the borders of the Bosphorus.

Meanwhile the bedead was collected at Constantinople with great severity. The janissaries were left in this capital; it was said that they were not to go to Scutari 'till the European troops should be assembled there. As a great many janissaries carry on a petty commerce in the streets of Constantinople, these soldiers murmured aloud against the bedead. In the midst of these clamours, the news arrived of the Persians' having taken Tauris. The grand seignior had left Constantinople the 3d of August, according to our way of counting: it was then the 27th of September, and no corps had yet joined the army at Scutari camp, which was composed, only of some timarians, and some odas of spahis. The season for the war had passed away without the court's appearing to trouble itself about any thing but collecting the bedead. The loss of Tauris increased the murmurs, and there was no chief at Constantinople to stifle it. Even the caimacan, to whom the management of affairs had been left during the absence of the grand vizier, was forgetting the cares of administration in a country house. The mufti, the reis effendi, and all those whose presence is necessary for public order and the dispatch of business, were imitating

com-
mence-
ment of
the revo-
lution.
Three ja-
nissaries
assemble
the popu-
lace.

J.C. 1730.
Heg. 1142,
& 1143. tating the grand seignior and his vizier. In the midst of this desertion, one of the most important revolutions that has ever happened in the Ottoman empire was produced by the clamours of the vilest populace. The sultan and his ministers learned too late that a popular insurrection should never be contemned. Patrona Calil, an Albanian, heretofore a levanti, and who, as will be seen, had escaped the hands of the executioner, was become a janissary, and sold old clothes in the streets of Constantinople. Muslu, also a janissary, sold fruit; and Ali, their comrade, sold coffee to the populace, who make great use of it, as well as the Turks in easy circumstances. Such were the instruments which God made use of to pull down the Ottoman emperor from his throne. These three men, who fancied themselves aggrieved by the overseers in the collection of the bedead, took advantage of the general discontent caused by the loss of Tauris, and the impunity which the absence of the chiefs gave them reason to hope for, to inveigh loudly against the grand vizier and the rest of the ministry. They imparted their sentiments to those who assembled around them under pretence of buying; and as their stalls were near each other, they concerted together and agreed to take advantage of the animosity which they communicated to the people. Muslu and Ali began by distributing their fruit and coffee *gratis* to those of their comrades who listened to their discourses; and when they had sufficiently excited

excited them; they sought among Patrona Ca- J.C. 1730.
Heg. 1142,
& 1143.
lil's rags for something to make colours of. These new conspirators being leagued together by a solemn oath, separated into three bands, marching at the same time by three different routs, under the conduct of the three chiefs, to repair to the Atmeidan, where they expected to find their troops increased by the recruits that they should get by the way. They were provided with their swords, which they made glitter to view, ordering the shops on their way to be shut, calling aloud to their comrades, and every one they saw, whether levantis, topggis, jebeggis, or citizens, punishing those with immediate death who presumed to blame their conduct.

On the arrival of the troops in the Atmeidan, they were considerably encreased. The drums which had joined the rebels soon alarmed the whole city. Those, who would not take part in the rebellion, hid themselves in their houses. The major part, drawn by their hatred of the minister, or the love of change, or curiosity, ran to the Atmeidan, where they were received with joy, as soon as they had sworn on a sword, the edge of which was presented to them, the death of the grand vizier Ibrahim, of the caimacan, and of the reis effendi. We have already said, that there was not an officer of consideration in Constantinople, except the aga of the janissaries and
the

J.C. 1730.
Heg. 1142,
& 1143. the grand vizier's kiaia. This last being on his way to the Atmeidan, met some of his friends, who advised him to turn back, because the death of his chief being the principal object of the commotion, he, the kiaia, who existed only by Ibrahim, and who had never done any thing but execute his orders, was likely to run great risks. He took their advice and appeared no more. The aga of the janissaries went as far as the Atmeidan, surrounded by some officers who were attached to his person. Neither the prayers nor threats of this chief, who was in an advanced age, could bring back these soldiers to their duty, whose number and resolution rendered them already formidable. Patrona haughtily asked him, if he were come to join the brave Mussulmen who were resolved on a reformation of the state and the punishment of the tyrants? As this chief assumed the tone which he thought belonged to him at the head of his men, Patrona arrogantly bade him hold his tongue and cause the colours which were in his possession to be remitted him instantly, or else, on his refusal, his vest died with his blood should serve these brave fellows as such, who were assembled to punish the oppressors and their accomplices. The aga's friends were already mixed with the rebels. This chief, intimidated, alighted from his horse, under pretence of speaking to the conspirators more at his ease, but in effect to get away in the crowd. He changed his clothes,

clothes, as soon as he could, with a poor man, and ran to the port to get into a bark, which conducted him to Scutari. Instead of going to the grand vizier to give him an account of this insurrection, he shut himself up in a small house which he had, lest he should lose his head for his weakness and the bad conduct of others.

J.C. 1730.
Heg. 1143.

Meanwhile the rebels broke open the prisons and the slave-house, delivered the slaves, and joined to their troop all the Mussulmen that they could find there. They ran to the quarter of the spahis to ask arms and engage some of these troopers in their quarrel. It was remarked, that, in all their proceedings, they did no other violence than what was necessary for the accomplishment of their design. There was not a shop pillaged, nor an insult offered in any street but to some servants of the vizier, who wanted to take the part of Ibrahim. The mutiny commenced the 28th of September at nine o'clock in the morning, and by noon there were three thousand men under arms, obedient to their chiefs, and thoroughly determined. Patrona Muslu, and Ali, thought only at first of increasing their number. The ministers left them full time to do it, for no person appeared during the whole day to suppress them.

The rebels increase
their num-
ber with-
out doing
any vio-
lence.

The caimacan and reis effendi learned in their country houses, that a mob was tumultuously assembled in the Atmeidan; but as they were told who were the chiefs of this insurrection,

J.C. 1730.
Heg. 1143.

The cai-
maican and
the reis ef-
fendi go
to tell the
grand seig-
nior of it.

they thought at first that the inferior officers would be sufficient to disperse and punish it. But when some people better informed assured them that this troop visibly increased, and that they were named for victims as well as the grand vizier, their contempt changed into terror. They repaired both to Scutari about four o'clock in the afternoon, and informed the sultan and Ibrahim bashaw of one part of the danger which they were in. One may suppose the consternation of the prince at these news, though the two ministers, who were sensible how much reason the emperor had to complain of them, endeavoured to lessen the danger, lest they should be made accountable for it. But when Ibrahim asked them, why this populace was not dispersed, they were obliged to mention the state of Constantinople and the danger which they would have run in presenting themselves to an armed troop, without forces that could intimidate it. These reasons demonstrated how much the officers were in fault for not having opposed the commotions at their breaking out, and what reproaches they merited for not having foreseen them. The grand vizier, in the first transport of his rage, exclaimed : "Great prince, how can you suffer these cowards still to see the light, after the crime which their imbecility has made them commit against your empire and you?" But it was no time for punishing. It was decided, that the grand seignior should return immediately

to Constantinople. A galley was brought from the port, in which the sultan and his vizier <sup>J.C. 1730.
Heg. 1143.</sup> embarked; the rest of the retinue followed in saiks.

It was midnight when Achmet III. landed at the seraglio-point. He learned that the rebels were encamped in the Atmeidan, and that a guard was kept there as if they were in sight of an enemy; that the patrols were spread thro' the town, where fires were kindled at equal distances in the middle of the streets in order to see every thing, and especially to avoid surprises. A council was held instantly; for all the officers of the divan were either returned from Scutari with the grand seignior, or come to attend him at the seraglio, as soon as they knew of his intended return, by the departure of the galley which went for him. The wisest members cried, that too much time had been lost, not to profit by that which was left; that as many troops should be assembled with all speed as the seraglio and the odas could furnish; that all those should be armed who had zeal and courage, and attack the rebels whilst their number was small. This plan, approved of by the grand vizier, was instantly proposed to the grand seignior; but that prince replied: "Where shall we find soldiers amidst the obscurity of the night? The rebels are armed; how shall we pass into their camp to call faithful subjects? Five or six hundred bostangis, and as many icoglans or azamoglans,

J.C. 1730. " azamoglans, who have never borne arms,
 Heg. 1143. " form the whole guard and the resource of the
 " seraglio. Since the rebels are peaceable dur-
 " ing the night, let us wait 'till day. Then I
 " will send them orders or menaces that shall
 " disperse them; or else, we will display the
 " standard of Mahomet; we will assemble the
 " true Mussulmen, and oppose force to force."

As all those, who composed the divan, had to reproach themselves with the present situation of affairs, no one presumed to blame openly the plan to which the emperor was inclined.

Vain at-
tempts of
the sultan
to make
the rebels
quit their
arms.

As soon as day-light appeared, the prince sent one of the principal officers of the bostangis to order the rebels to retire instantly, threatening them to put all those to the sword who should refuse to obey. They replied, without shewing the least fear, that they were assembled for the good of the state, that they had proposals to make to their emperor, and that they would not quit their arms, 'till they should be rendered justice. On this haughty reply, the standard of Mahomet was displayed, and it was proclaimed, that those, who would come and range themselves under it, should receive twenty-five piafres. As the army of the rebels increased visibly, Patrona Calil ordered a corps of six hundred men to place themselves just by the sacred standard. Ali, who commanded this corps, was ordered to divert by prayers, promises, and threats, those who appeared disposed

to

to range themselves under the banner of Maho- J.C. 1730.
met, and to attack this troop, if it appeared to Heg. 1143. increase. This precaution augmented Patrona's party with a great number of citizens, drawn at first to the standard of the prophet, but who, reflecting on the good order that reigned in the city notwithstanding the rebellion (for not a single house had been pillaged), and on the bad government, which every body had to complain of, began to look on Patrona and his friends as the deliverers of the country, and to range themselves under his colours. No one came to disperse these rebels, who, by their number and discipline, began to deserve the name of an army. The inaction and trouble that reigned in the seraglio clearly announced the terror of the master and of the divan. After having lost a great deal of time, they attempted to assemble the boftangis; but this timid troop was so dispersed, that thirty of them could not be gotten together. The icoglans were in so small a number, and so little formed for carrying arms, that it would not have been prudent to oppose this feeble soldiery even against the detachment of Ali, who, being posted before the standard of Mahomet, threatened the seraglio. The captain bashaw, more courageous than all the other members of the divan, resolved to go and assemble the levantis; he gave orders for the galleys to be brought to the seraglio-point, where he went himself. Four hundred levantis were already landed,

The grand
seignior
finds no
soldiers to
oppose
them with.

J.C. 1730.
Heg. 1143.
 He endeavours to assemble the levantis. Bad success of that attempt.

landed, and the drum was beating, as much to assemble the old levantis as to enlist new ones, when they saw Patrona's little colours appear on the strand. This general (we will call him so for the future) had not lost a moment since he learned the moving of the galleys. Two battalions, which advanced in good order, fired on the levantis with their muzzles close to them, who were not yet formed in battalion. This discharge killed thirty of them and put the rest to flight. Patrona Calil then stepping up to the captain bashaw, who did not run away: "Abdi," said he to him, "why wouldest thou assemble poltrons to defend tyrants? Thy life is in my power; but I remember that thou savedst mine* when I was a levanti. One good turn deserves another. It will be thy own fault if thou do not continue captain bashaw, in case thou be willing to command brave fellows and serve thy country; but thou must swear on thy sword the destruction of these rascals whom we are pursuing." The circumstance was pressing. Abdi, after having bound himself by the oath which they required of him, assembled his fugitives together as well as he could and joined the rebels. He caused the cannon of the port to be transported to their army, which continued in order of battle in the Atmeidan.

Though the seraglio was not yet invested, a general terror reigned there. The grand seignior sent

* Abdi had saved Patrona from being hanged for a theft.

sent the officer of the bostangis, who had already J.C. 1730.
Heg. 1143. spoken to the rebels, a second time to the Atmeidan, to demand of them what they would have, and for what they were assembled. Patrona Calil, Musli, and Ali, replied unanimously, that they demanded to have the mufti, the grand vizier, his kiaia, the caimacan, and the reis ef-fendi, delivered to them alive, and that they would not lay down their arms till they were dipped in the blood of these five culprits. As the grand seignior delayed his answer, and it was necessary to have money to subsist the army with, Patrona Calil sent some of his men to pillage the houses of the five ministers. All the gold and silver that they found there was paid into the hands of the man that the rebels had made defterdar, and the valuable furniture was instantly sold at a low price. These five houses were not the only ones that were pillaged: some that belonged to the creatures of the proscribed ministers experienced the same fate by order of Patrona. They also pillaged the palace of the governor of Galata and Pera, two quarters which are almost entirely inhabited by Christians and Jews. Patrona, who was desirous of pleasing all, ordered that the money found at the governor's should be thrown out at the windows, in order, as he said, to restore the Infidels the rapires and extortions which they had suffered from this robber. Never was there so much order observed in a pillage. The Christians, who were always afraid to take any part in commotions,

The grand
seignior
sends for
the second
time to the
rebels.

Proscrip-
tion of se-
veral offi-
cers of the
empire.
Pillage of
their
houses.

were

J.C. 1730. were invited and almost constrained by the janissaries charged with unfurnishing the governor's house, to come and pick up the pieces of gold and silver under his windows which they were throwing out without reserve.
 Heg. 1143.

Patrona blocks up the seraglio and causes the shops necessary to life to be opened. However, no answer arrived from the grand seignior, and no one came out of the seraglio. Towards the end of the second day, Patrona thought it was time to block it up. He conducted his army thither; but he first caused to be published, that all the butchers, bakers, and other dealers in the necessaries for life, should open their shops, and that those, who should be convicted of having done the least mischief to one of them, should be empaled immediately. He likewise published, that, if the Christians made no riot, and did not appear to take any part in the present event, no violence should be done them. Patrona took this precaution, because it was reported that the emperor had some thoughts of soliciting the assistance of the Christians. At length, the officer of the bostangis, who had always carried the emperor's messages to the rebels, came to tell them in his name, that he would depose the ministers whom they thought they had reason to complain of; but that the law forbade him to have the mufti put to death, and that he could never resolve to order the execution of the other ministers, who had served him faithfully. The rebels replied immediately, that the mufti's life should be saved, provided he were sent into exile,

exile, but that they would take the other four from the seraglio by force, if the emperor continued resolutely bent not to give them up. The three chiefs, who knew that the sultan never saw any thing but by the eyes of those whom they had condemned, hoped that his constant refusal would soon give them reason to dethrone him himself. They were desirous of conducting the rebels by degrees to this last blow. Recollecting that Achmet had put those to death who had seated him on the throne of Mustapha, they did not foresee more favor for themselves. Patrona said to his friends, that the sword once drawn against the sovereign should never be sheathed again. Their astonishment was great about the middle of the third day, when they were beginning to take measures to force the seraglio, to see the doors suddenly fly open, and the four dead bodies of the proscribed ministers brought out on litters, preceded by the officer of the bostangis, who announced to them the condescendency of their master, and repeated in his name the order to separate.

The grand
seignior
causes his
four mini-
sters to be
strangled.

The grand seignior, advised by his women and eunuchs, had hoped that this act of weakness would appease the sedition: and in fact a number of the rebels, filling the air with acclamations of victory and thanks, seemed inclined to retire, when Patrona and his most faithful confidants exclaimed, that the dead body brought them for the grand vizier's, was not really his;

J.C. 1730. that they were convinced it was that of a galley
 Heg. 1143. slave, who greatly resembled Ibrahim ; that there

The army
notwith-
standing
demands
his depo-
sition. was treachery in it, and that they had demanded the four ministers in person, not dead bodies difficult to be known again which might not be the same.

They added likewise, that the long reign of Achmet III. had but too much proved that he was incapable and unworthy of the throne, and that they would have sultan Mahmout for their sovereign. The name of Mahmout, repeated in the ranks, resounded presently from all parts, and reached even the seraglio.

One might be astonished that three men of the dregs of the people should have conducted this revolution with so much ability and firmness, if it were not known that they received advice from the iman of Saint Sophia's, a preacher to the emperor, who was secretly the enemy of his master and of the mufti, because he had been refused one of the two dignities of cadilesker. This man, without appearing either a rebel or a malecontent, had guided the three chiefs in those steps of moderation which had gained them the love of the people. It was to him that they were indebted for their conduct, which had been so much admired, and he had been an instrument of the rebellion the more dangerous, as no one had observed his proceedings or even suspected them. Zadi effendi (that was the name of the iman) entered the seraglio as soon as he heard the acclamations of the rebels who proclaimed Mahmout ; and, affecting a sor-

row

row which he did not feel, he said to some ba- J.C. 1730.
shaws who were assembled under a kiosk, that Heg. 1143.
the deposition of Achmet was inevitable; that
the rebels had been full of it for three days past;
that they had directed their steps with an artifice
which left the emperor without resource; that all
the people were prejudiced, and that the death of
the four ministers only emboldened those whom
it had been intended to appease. Zadi, by ex-
aggerating the matter, had no difficulty to per-
suade these terrified officers what he pleased.
They saw, likewise, all the avenues of the serag-
lio guarded, and cannon planted against the prin-
cipal gates. In the midst of the pensive silence
which Zadi's discourse had occasioned, a person
came to inform the viziers that Achmet ordered a
divan to be assembled, at which he would be pre-
sent himself. All the bashaws entered into the
chamber, where Zadi followed them. And as the
emperor asked with a confused voice if the rebels
were still in the Atmeidan, if they were resolved
not to lay down their arms, and what they could
yet have to desire: "My lord," said the effendi
to him with assurance, "thy reign is at an end,
" thy revolted subjects will no longer have thee
" for their master, they demand thy nephew
" Mahmout with loud acclamations. It is in vain
" for thee to flatter thyself that they will return to
" their allegiance." At these words the prince
turned pale; but having immediately recov-
ered himself, he said: "Why was I not in-

Deposition
of Achmet
III.

J.C. 1730. "formed of the truth sooner?" Follow me
Heg. 1143.
 " all of you." Immediately he went to Mahmout's prison, with all his retinue, and, having taken that prince by the hand : " The wheel has turned for you as for me," said he to him, conducting him to the divan chamber. " I resign you the throne, which Mustapha my brother resigned to me on a like occasion." And when he had seated him thereon : " Remember," said he to him, " that Mahomet IV. Mustapha II. your father, and myself, have been pulled down from the throne whereon you mount, for having too much trusted to our ministers. Let no subject assume an influence over you which he may abuse. See every thing with your own eyes, and guard yourself against the effeminacy which has conducted us all to our ruin. Be severe, but be just. I recommend my children and myself to your protection." After this advice, he returned into the apartment from whence he had taken his nephew, to end his life there. Immediately a throne was raised for Mahmout in the room where the emperors give audience to foreign ministers.

Mahmout
ascends the
throne.

MAHMOUT,

J.C. 1730.
Heg. 1143.

M A H M O U T,

Or MAHOMET V.

TWENTY-FOURTH REIGN.

THIS ceremony being over, Mahmout* would fain see the man who had made him emperor. He sent for Patrona Calil, who presented himself before his new master in the dress of a janissary, with his legs naked, such as he was four days before when he sold old clothes in the streets. This man, who from the bosom of meanness had found means to thrust his daring hands on the imperial throne, had the appearance of possessing a daring soul. Mahmout, feeling at his sight a sentiment of admiration and gratitude, asked him what recompense he desired. "Sublime emperor," replied Calil, "I have obtained what I most wished: my country is delivered from the tyrants who oppressed it, and thy highness is seated on the throne of his ancestors. But the history of the revolutions of the empire is too well known to me, for me to be ignorant of the fate that awaits me: I have been told, that not one of those, who have made emperors, has died in his bed." "I

Interview
of Mah-
mout and
Patrona.

"fwear

* He was at this time thirty-four years old.

J.C. 1730. "I swear to thee by the soul of my ancestors,"
 Heg. 1143. replied the prince, "that I will not make any
 attempt on thy life, and that it is my intention
 to reward thee." "Well then!" replied
 Patrona, "since thou hast some gratitude, we
 will ask thee for a striking testimony of it:
 abolish immediately these imposts under which
 the tyrant Ibrahim has made all the empire
 groan, which have occasioned his death and
 the deposition of Achmet." "Thou shalt be
 satisfied," replied the prince: and immediately
 the criers were dispatched to the different quar-
 ters of Constantinople to publish the abolition of
 the new impost.

Revoca-
tion of the
new im-
post.

Neither Patrona Calil, nor either of the chiefs,
 could read, and consequently it was impossible to
 confer any great dignity on them; but they ob-
 tained an unbounded power, which they soon
 abused. Mehemet bashaw was made grand vi-
 zier: Achmet III. had made choice of him be-
 fore he descended from the throne. Mahmout
 confirmed also an aga and a kiaia of the janissaries
 whom the rebels had nominated. The grand
 seignior wished to gain the affection of the
 people. Seeing the public treasury fuller than it
 had been for many years, and that the confiscation
 of the property of the five proscribed ministers
 increased it still more, he ordered, that the cus-
 tomary present to the troops should be more
 considerable than any of his predecessors had
 made; and though it was the rule to distribute
 this

Present
made to
the troops.

this gratification to none but such janissaries and spahis as had been enrolled some time, Patrona insisted on its being likewise given to the recruits. It was on this occasion that the disorders commenced; for the rebels, who had observed such exact discipline during the revolution, thinking it no longer necessary when the emperor had ascended the throne, made an ill use of their favor.

Five standards were set up in the Atmeidan, one for the janissaries, one for the spahis, one for the topgis, one for the jebeggis, and the fifth and last for the levantis. All those, who were willing to enlist, or rather who desired to share the gratification, went to be enrolled under one of these flags. The people ran thither in crowds; men whose age, infirmities, and profession, should have kept them from the army, were anxious to come and partake of the favor which had not been granted for them. The new lieutenant of the janissaries having remonstrated to Patrona Calil, who authorised this depredation, that the treasures so foolishly heaped up by Achmet III. would be dissipated still more foolishly if gratifications were thus lavished on an innumerable crowd of old men, children, and men unfit for any service: Patrona replied by a torrent of abuse, which encouraged the new janissaries to tear this officer to pieces before the face of Patrona, and the distribution was finished with the same prodigality and disorder. This violence began

J.C. 1730. began to open Mahmout's eyes on the danger of
 Heg. 1143. leaving these men in Constantinople, who might
 make him pay too dear for the service which they
 had done him. The day that he went to Jub
 mosque to gird on the sword of Othman, he pro-
 posed to Patrona Calil, who accompanied him
 on this occasion, still in the dress of a janis-
 sary with his legs naked, to take a government
 in Natolia with the title of bashaw. Patrona ex-
 cused himself on account of his profound igno-
 rance. The aga of the janissaries who was pre-
 sent, thinking to make his court to the prince
 and Patrona, proposed to Mahmout to give this
 man who had placed him on the throne a hun-
 dred thousand sequins, and to let him retire
 wherever he should think fit. "I don't want
 "money," replied the rebel: "all the purses
 "in Constantinople are at my service;" and,
 darting a thundering look at the aga of the ja-
 nissaries, he had the boldness to say to him in
 presence of the emperor: "Do you never med-
 "dle with what concerns me, if you wish to avoid
 "the fate of your lieutenant." The aga of the
 janissaries, frightened, prostrated himself before Pa-
 trona, without uttering a word, and the em-
 peror silently suffered this humiliation. The re-
 bel, seeing that his master designed to send him
 out of the way, redoubled his audacity and li-
 cence, either to enjoin it, or to enrich himself be-
 fore his disgrace. The grand vizier having
 caused to be published, that the present being
 distributed

Audacity
of Patrona
and the
rebels.

distributed to the troops with a magnificence J.C. 1730.
Heg. 1143: that ought to make them contented, they should lay down their arms, pursuant to the law, which does not admit people to go armed in the towns during peace: the rebels contemned this order; and, though the major part of the janissaries obeyed, Patrona, Muslu, and Ali, came every day to the divan armed with large swords; they familiarly seated themselves by the side of the grand vizier, taking upon them to pronounce the juridical decisions instead of the prime minister, and generally against his consent. They distributed places for considerable sums, and ordered the grand vizier to appoint their creatures, without his presuming to disobey them.

A few days after the grand seignior had girded on the sword of Othman, Patrona met in the street a Greek, a butcher by profession, who had furnished him with meat on credit before the revolution, and who had lent him some money while the rebels were encamped in the Atmeidan. This man being come to kiss the bottom of Patrona's vest, the latter gave him a thousand sequins; and as the butcher expressed to him his gratitude: "Wouldest thou be contented to live no longer than myself?" said Patrona to him with a smile. Ianaki (that was the name of the butcher) replied, that "when the illustrious Patrona his benefactor should finish his career, he would not desire to breathe an instant after him." "Well then," replied the chief of the

J.C. 1730. rebels, "I will do something for thee. Go and
 Heg. 1143. tell the grand vizier to give thee the patent of
 They make a prince of Moldavia." " prince of Moldavia, in the room of Gregory
 prince of Moldavia. " Giffa with whom we are displeased. This so-
 " vereignty will cost thee only five hundred
 " purses, which thy friends will lend thee." The
 butcher, transported with joy, ran to the grand
 vizier's with Muslu, whom Patrona sent thither to
 order the prime minister to make out the patent
 for Ianaki, and to have the vest of sable, the
 sword, and the mace of arms, prepared. Mehe-
 met, exasperated, hastened to inform the emperor
 of this fresh proof of the audacity and avidity of
 the rebels. The sultan, who could not yet ven-
 ture to punish them, and who remembered the
 promise which he had made Patrona Calil to spare
 his life, resolved to comply with the rebel's re-
 quest. The butcher was clothed with the caftan,
 and admitted to the honor of kissing his high-
 ness's hand; but he was not to make his entry
 into Constantinople and depart for his new domi-
 nions, 'till the five hundred purses were paid.
 This obligation, difficult to fulfil, was not yet so
 when the face of affairs was changed.

Two days after the audience of the new prince
 of Moldavia, Muslu caused the janissaries to be
 assembled, and declared to them that he intended
 to do the duty of lieutenant-general of their
 corps. He, who had in some respects the choice
 of all the dignities, seemed to confine himself to
 a very small one; but the resolution which he
 took

took to usurp it, without choosing to hold it of those who would have made a point of offering it to him, shewed that he would not be contented with an employ which rendered him dependant on the ministry. And indeed it was known soon after that Patrona was desirous of displacing the grand vizier to make one who should pay him more attention; that he intended the charge of aga of the janissaries for Muslu, and that he himself, notwithstanding his incapacity, meant to be captain bashaw. So much insolence forced Mahmout to exert his authority, which the rebels left him only the shadow of. Moreover, the disorder, which reigned in Constantinople and the provinces, taught the janissaries that temerity was not sufficient to govern an empire. They began to desire tranquility; and those, who had obeyed Patrona most blindly, were the people who were most sensible of his tyranny and injustice. They had no longer any one to regulate their steps. Zadi effendi, who had secretly conducted the revolution, had detached himself from the rebels since the grand seignior had rewarded his services with one of the places of cadilesker. Patrona, Muslu, and Ali, astonished at their power, were incapable of perceiving that they daily exposed themselves to lose it. The grand vizier, and the khan of the Tartars who was then at Constantinople, endeavoured to prevail on the grand seignior to have these troublesome fellows put to death.

Their abuse of authority prepares their ruin.

J.C. 1730.
Heg. 1143.

The three
chiefs are
put to
death, and
their ac-
complices
punished
with them.

Patrona having spoken one day in the divan with a tone that till then had petrified, but which lately had raised indignation, it was agreed to get rid of these three tyrants and their accomplices. (It was thus the rebels were termed.) In order to execute with safety this sort of conspiracy of a sovereign against his subjects, it was resolved, to seem to consent to an order that Patrona had presumed to give, not to admit but a few people to a divan appointed by himself. Thirty followers, whom the three tyrants had brought to the seraglio, of the most determined among those called the forlorn hope, were stopped at the porch of the last court, because none but the bashaws of the bench were to be admitted to this assembly, with some effendis whose duty called them there. Patrona, Muslu, and Ali, being received in the divan chamber with all the honors which they were accustomed to, had no suspicion of the fate which attended them. They were no way astonished at their having been separated from their followers, still less to see some officers of the grand seignior in the room, who had no right to sit among the ministers, but who were supposed to be in readiness to carry any orders that it might be requisite to give. As soon as each was seated, the grand vizier opened the meeting with distributing places in the name of the emperor to the rebels and their creatures. It was agreed, that at a certain word which he was to pronounce, the chiaus who were standing before

before the sofas should fall on the three rebels,<sup>I.C. 1730.
Heg. 1143.</sup> and on two effendis, to whom sangiacates had just been given, in order to deprive them of the exemption from punishment enjoyed by the members of the ulema. The chiaus plunged, several times, into the bosoms of these five wretches, poniards which they had kept concealed under their vests; not one of them had time to put himself in a situation to make resistance. When the five proscribed persons were dead, it was resolved to put those to death that they had brought to the seraglio. The bostangi pachi was sent to tell them, that their chiefs had just been clothed with cloaks of sable on the occasion of their being honored with bashawcies by the grand seignior; that his highness was desirous likewise of gratifying them each with a caftan; that, in order that the ceremony might be performed with some decency, they must enter five at a time into the seraglio. These wretches were disarmed and strangled as they separated from their comrades. The last, not seeing any of those who had preceded them return, suspected the truth and resolved to make their escape; but all the doors of the seraglio were well shut, and they were strangled as the rest. The aga of the janissaries, though a creature of Patrona's, had been one of the first to advise the murder. He went out alone from the seraglio, to assemble his odas together and prepare them for the spectacle intended for them. As the janissaries advanced in order

<sup>J.C. 1730.
Heg. 1143.</sup> order and without arms towards the gates of the feraglio, several carts came out loaded with the dead bodies of these rebels, some chiaus crying before them: “Thus shall all those be treated ‘‘ who shall stand up against our powerful mo-
“ narch.” This sight, far from exciting the least sedition, filled all the janissaries and bostan-
<sup>Rejoicings
at the
death of
the rebels.</sup> gis with joy, who suffered with great impatience the disorders which the liberties that the rebels took occasioned every day. The major part of the rich citizens voluntarily sacrificed sheep on the occasion, anticipating thereby the orders of the emperor, who caused to be published that every body should return thanks to God for having in his great bounty delivered the state from the perfidious chiefs of the rebellion. Mahmout did not confine his vengeance to this: he had more than five hundred of their accomplices strangled, accused of violences and rapines, among others Ianaki, the butcher who had been made prince of Moldavia, who, through gratitude, had endeavoured to assemble some men, to revenge the death of Patrona. The sort of prediction of this rebel was accomplished, for Ianaki lived but two days after him.

All the accomplices that fought to hide themselves had as many informers as they met men; for every one was become their enemy. The grand seignior pardoned those of the rebels who, though they had followed Patrona, Ali, or Muslu, had not since they were ordered to lay down their

arms

arms been personally guilty of any glaring crime. J.C. 1730.
Heg. 1143.
He sent a catcherif to all the bashaws of his em- —
pire to announce to them this general amnesty.

Mahmout, displeased with the old vizier Me- J.C. 1731.
Heg. 1143.
& 1144.
hemet, who was accused of having caused these disorders by his extreme weakness, thought fit to take the seals from him; but as he had always appeared to have a good intention, the emperor left him the dignity of bashaw of three-tails, and made him governor of Aleppo. The bashaw of that province, Ibrahim Cabaculak, who had been the warmest for having the rebels punished, was put at the head of the empire in the room of the old Mehemet. The new minister was desirous of re-establishing order and œconomy. He began by declaring, that all those, who had enrolled themselves in order to share the present which Mahmout had made at his accession to the throne, should receive no pay for a year. This ordinance restored the ancient usage infringed by Patrona Calil, which prescribed that none but the janissaries serving at the accession of the new emperor should have any share in the gratification granted.

Whatever this law might be, the enforcing of it disconcerted a great many, and sowed the seeds of new troubles. Two princesses, daughters of the last emperor, Achmet, fomented by their intrigues and money the discontents of the people. One of them, being the widow of the grand vizier Ibrahim, had both a father and husband to avenge. Fresh insurreCTION
on account
of the or-
dinance of
the new
grand vi-
zier.

J.C. 1731. avenge. The example of Patrona Calil, Muslu,
Heg. 1143,
& 1144. and Ali, whose fall was wholly attributed to the excessive abuse which they had made of their success, induced three janissaries to try if they could not do better. They disposed at their pleasure of very considerable sums, with which they were furnished by the princesses Fatima and Zelida, and they relied likewise on the assistance of the people, who lamented the dearness of bread and other necessaries of life. Patrona Calil, Muslu, and Ali, had not had these advantages, and they had succeeded to make an emperor; but then the new rebels had not to oppose, like them, a set of negligent, timid ministers, whose bad administration, already of a considerable duration, had for a long time been incensing the people against them. The night between the 24th and 25th of March 1731, three janissaries, whom our accounts don't name, after having distributed a great deal of money to four hundred soldiers of the different corps at Constantinople, led this troop to the janissary aga's, to demand of him his assistance against the unjust ministers, and the stands of colours which he had the charge of. This officer received the new rebels as he ought, ordering them to return to their odas and lay down their arms; but his behaviour increasing the tumult instead of appeasing it, he left the room where the chiefs of the rebels talked to him. He went and armed himself, and returning with some of his men, cut his way through

through this mutinous soldiery. A pistol ball J.C. 1731.
wounded him in the arm, but did not hinder him
from repairing to the feraglio, where he informed
the grand seignior that the rebellion was recom-
mencing. Whilst the rebels were running to
seize tents and kettles to encamp in the Atmei-
dan, the bashaws, assembled at the call of the
grand seignior, sought companions to go and at-
tack the rebels; for the last revolution had taught
them the value of time. At break of day, the
grand vizier, the aga of the janissaries, the cap-
tain bashaw, and all the bashaws of the bench, at
the head of what they had assembled of levantis,
bostangis, topggis, jebeggis, and even some ja-
nissaries, marched to the Atmeidan under the
standard of Mahomet. They found only the
four hundred men under arms, assembled by the
emissaries of the sultanesses. Without deigning
to enter into a conference with them, they at-
tacked them vigorously. The emir who carried
the standard of Mahomet was knocked off his
horse. If the rebels had been able to get posse-
sion of this revered standard, superstition perhaps
would have turned the devout Mussulmen on
their side. The bashaws were so convinced of
it, that they made use of all their efforts to pre-
serve this sacred banner, and this made them per-
form prodigies of valour. At length the people
appearing to declare for them, the rebels took to
flight. The major part took refuge in the odas
of the janissaries. The bashaws were for pursu-

Heg. 1143,
& 1144.

J.C. 1731. ing them thither, but the grand vizier, Cabaculak, was afraid of disaffecting that soldiery, which had not yet taken any part. The odas having the right of asylum, the grand vizier would not violate them, for fear of furnishing a pretext for the bad intentioned, who might be very numerous. Two hundred of the rebels were left dead on the field of battle, as likewise their chiefs; seventy were made prisoners. Cabaculak had these immediately strangled, and in the very place where they had been vanquished; and having caused the tubulcham to be beaten to assemble the janissaries, he ordered, that nine of the seventeen odas then at Constantinople should march the next day to join the army in Persia.

Two princesses of the Ottoman blood are sent to the old seraglio.

The two princesses, who were soon known to have been the instigators of this fresh conspiracy, were both shut up in the old seraglio. Their riches, which they had made such a bad use of, increased the public treasure. Each of them had assigned her for subsistence only two piasters a day, which make five shillings sterling.

Mahmout had been desirous of going himself at the head of his troops against the rebels; but as the name of Achmet III. had resounded in the Atmeidan, his ministers persuaded him not to go out of the seraglio, lest some of the conspirators, hidden within its walls, should take advantage of his absence to shut him out and replace his uncle once more on the throne of his ancestors. In a country where every thing belongs to the

first

first occupier, such steps are often decisive. Mah- J.C. 1731.
 mout, who, on the first news of the rebellion, had Heg. 1143,
ordered that the deposed emperor should be straitly guarded, restored him all the liberty which he had enjoyed before, as soon as he was sure that he had no part in any of the commotions which had appeared to be made in his favor. On account of these troubles, the grand vizier renewed the prohibition to assemble in the coffee-houses, & 1144.

Divers orders given by the grand vizier.

and to go out in the night. He caused very strict search to be made after the Greeks who sold wine. Their casks were staved, and it was forbidden under pain of death to sell or procure this dangerous liquor to any Mussulman. As one of the original causes of the discontent of the people was the dearness of bread, the grand vizier also ordered that no vessel, loaded with wheat, rye, or barley, should go out of the port of Constantinople. When the riots were put an end to, order was restored every where, and the divan resumed its deliberations.

The grand vizier, Cabaculak, turned his attention to the affairs of Persia. He proposed reinforcing the nine odas that he had already sent thither; but he advised his master not to quit the capital, nor to send him, the vizier, away, 'till tranquility should be perfectly restored. The grand seignior, who thought it prudent not to let any thing remain of what the rebels had done, resolved to depose Rustan bashaw of Erivan, and even put him to death, because Patrona Calil had

J.C. 1731. of his own authority appointed this general to
 Heg. 1143,
 & 1144.
 The grand
 seignior
 resolves to
 have the
 general of
 the army
 sent against
 Persia put
 to death.
 What hap-
 pens in
 conse-
 quence.

command in Persia, and it was supposed that there was a secret correspondence between Rustan and the rebels. He sent a capiggi to Selim, aga kiaia, or lieutenant to Rustan, with the appointment of bashaw of Erivan for him, by virtue of which Selim was to take the command, and have his commanding officer arrested and executed as a rebel. The capiggi pachi, charged with this delicate commission, took off, or at least concealed, the marks of his office, and set forward for the army as a private spahi going to join his corps. On his arrival at the gates of Erivan, where all was resounding with the acclamations of victory, he learned, that Rustan had just totally routed the Persians, who had attempted to besiege that place; that having gone out to meet them, he had made a great carnage, and was preparing to pursue them. The capiggi pachi, doubting already of the success of his mission, asked to be conducted to Selim aga. He was told that that brave officer had exposed himself too much in the action, in which he had been grievously wounded, and was just dead of his wounds. Mahmout's envoy, greatly embarrassed, meditated to steal away from the army whilst on the march which it was going to begin; but Rustan bashaw, to whom an account was given of the most trifling events, soon learned that there was a new comer in the army, who called himself a spahi, and who belonged to none

none of the corps of that soldiery, employed under his orders. The general caused this man to be brought before him. From his embarrassed air, and several contradictory answers, Rustan thought him a spy. He instantly ordered that he should be hanged; upon which, the capiggi pachi, who had no other measures to take, and who thought he might expect some return for his sincerity, gave Rustan the commission which appointed Selim aga commander in chief, and the order for him to have Rustan put to death. After having read it, Rustan ordered the army to march, and wrote to the Porte, by the same capiggi pachi, an account of the death of the officer whom they had intended for the command in Persia; that as to the rest, his life belonged to the emperor, but that it was better for him to lose it in serving his master, than by the hands of the executioner; that he had just vanquished the Persians; that he hoped to beat them again in a few days; that in the intermediate time it was necessary that he should live, and that afterward the most powerful emperor would decide on his fate. Rustan bashaw kept his word, for having come up with the Persians at seventy-two miles from Eriwan, before they had time to recover themselves, aided by the succours of Ali bashaw of Tauris, he beat them a second time, and drove them back as far as Dervan.

These accounts would have caused great joy at Constantinople, if sparks of a fire badly extinguished

J.C. 1731.
Heg. 1143.
& 1344.

J.C. 1731. guished had not often appeared. The resolution
 Heg. 1143,
 & 1144. which the grand vizier had taken to dissemble
 Fresh con- with the janissaries, lest that corps should sud-
 spiracy. denly declare against the emperor, cherished at
 Deposition Constantinople a great many malecontents, who
 of the grand vi- caballed continually and attempted to stir up the
 zier. people, whom the dearness of bread and other
 necessities of life soured. It became necessary to
 punish some new attempt every day. The blood,
 which was thus shed drop by drop, cherished the
 rebellion instead of stifling it. Six jebeggis were
 found one night armed in the streets; a patrol
 seized them after they had defended themselves.
 These wretches, being put to the torture, declared
 their chiefs, at whose apartments were found col-
 lours and arms, a numerous list of accomplices,
 and a sort of order of battle which was to be
 executed at break of day. These chiefs being
 arrested immediately, were put to death in the
 outer court of the seraglio, as likewise the jebeg-
 gis who had been found armed in the night. The
 grand seignior saw their execution himself from
 a window, the blind of which was drawn up. One
 of the condemned men perceived him, and hav-
 ing caught his eyes, exclaimed: "Son of a slave,
 " whilst thou receivest advice from a vizier equal
 " to odious to the people and soldiers, and per-
 " mittest barley and bran bread to be sold to
 " these poor people dearer than that of the best
 " wheat was formerly, thou wilt never be safe on
 " thy throne. The shedding of the blood of one
 " rebel

“rebel will give birth to fifty.” These words J.C. 1731.
made such an impression on the emperor that the Heg. 1143,
vizier thought himself ruined. He said to Mah-
mout, that the rebellion had more powerful in-
stigators than those that had been discovered;
that several officers of the empire kept up the
dearness of bread and at the same time excited
the people to complain of it. He gave his mas-
ter a list of thirty officers of different ranks,
whom he accused of being ill affected. By the
side of each name was a particular imputation of
different crimes. At the head of this list stood
the names of the kislar agasi and the captain ba-
shaw. The first was intimately connected with
the valid sultaness, and the second greatly pro-
tected by this same kislar aga. A mute, of those
who enter at all hours into the prince’s chamber,
and who are never mistrusted from their not be-
ing thought of any consequence, seized this list
and carried it instantly to the captain bashaw.
The latter lost not a moment to convey it to the
kislar agasi, who agreed with the valid sultaness
that the grand vizier should be accused that very
day of engrossing the corn, the fault of which he
wanted to throw on thirty officers, all of whom
the sultaness-mother looked upon as her creatures
and the most faithful servants of her son. The
deposition and exile of the grand vizier were re-
solved on without his being heard, solely on some
proofs true or supposed which his enemies ad-
vanced of the crimes of which he was accused.

He

^{J.C. 1731.} ~~Beg. 1143,~~ He was put on board a saik, and transported to
~~& 1144.~~ the isle of Negropont. The seals were given to
^{Topal Of.} Topal Osman, bashaw of Siliestria, whom the
^{man grand} vizier. kislar aga presented to the valid sultaness as a
creature whom they could do with as they liked.

^{He con-}
^{cludes a}
^{peace with}
^{Persia.}

The new minister, convinced of the necessity of strengthening the state prior to extending it, persuaded his master to conclude a peace: seeing no other means to re-establish abundance and stifle the rebellion, he wrote to the two bashaws Rustan and Ali, that it was necessary to conclude a treaty with Shah Thamas, and that he left the conditions to their prudence and zeal; that this prince, who had just experienced the strength of the Ottoman arms, would not refuse to recover, without striking a blow, one part of the dominions wrested from his father, and that it would be sufficient for the glory of the Ottomans to preserve Georgia. The plenipotentiaries went to Casbin to treat with the Persian monarch. Thamas Koulikhan was not with his master; the king of Persia, pressed to lessen the number of his enemies, and thinking to make a better advantage of Russia, when he should have only that power to fight or conciliate, consented to give up Georgia to the Turks. The plenipotentiaries left him Tauris and all the country which, with regard to Persia, is on this side of the Araxes.

Georgia all together was not a bad conquest for the Turks. There was reason to hope that the storm would be soon succeeded by a calm.

Blood

Blood no longer ran in Constantinople, as it had done for more than a year past. The attention of Topal Osman restored plenteousness: this able minister usefully employed the treasures heaped up by Achmet and augmented by the confiscations which the last troubles had occasioned. He bought up a great deal of corn, which was sold at an inferior price to the people. He protected the merchants, and particularly the French, to whom he granted permission to rebuild two churches with stone; which had been burnt at Galata, notwithstanding the clamours of the mufti, and even of the kislar aga, who saw with pain that this minister, who was wholly indebted to him for his power, presumed to do good by himself, without waiting for orders from the haram. The marquis of Villeneuve, the French ambassador, had great reason to be pleased with the ministry of Topal Osman, both for the protection which he gave to the Roman catholic priests, continually oppressed by the Greek priests and the effendis, and the restitution of several merchant-men taken by the Algerines and Tripolines, though the viziers are not very fond of giving orders of this sort to the tributary republics, for fear of exposing their authority. Topal Osman loved the French, because he had a grateful heart, and he had received a signal service in his youth from a merchant of Marseilles. Topal Osman had been taken in a corsair of Tunis. Mr. Armiaud (that was the name of the merchant)

J.C. 1732.
Heg. 1144,
& 1145.

Topal Of-
man go-
vers with
fagacity.

He acquires
himself of
an obliga-
tion to a
French
merchant.

J.C. 1732. having seen this Turk in the galleys, was prejudiced in his favor from his fine figure and gentleness of manners, which we believe rare among the people of this nation. Topal, who had learned a little French, intrusted the merchant who behaved so kindly to him, with what he had been very careful how he let drop to any other person, that he was capable of paying a ransom, but that he did not know to whom he must address himself to negotiate this affair, always delicate and difficult in the execution. Mr. Armiaud, who was not very rich, made this Turk promise that he would faithfully repay him what he should advance for him; and he not only ransomed, but even furnished him with every thing that was necessary for his return into his own country. The first care of Topal Osman, on his arrival at Constantinople, was to discharge his obligations to this generous man. He got preferment in the army by the protection of the kislar aga, whose interest he had purchased. He always kept up a correspondence with his French benefactor. As soon as he was made grand vizier, he pressed him to come to Constantinople to be a witness of his glory. Armiaud really paid him a visit. Topal Osman forced him to accept thirty thousand piastras, which make three thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds sterling, and two thousand load of fine wheat, which was not so scarce at Constantinople as the preceding years, as much by the attention of the vizier as the good crops.

Armiaud

Armiaud was but just embarked to return home, J.E. 1732.
 loaded with the favors of the grand vizier, when Heg. 1144,
that minister was deposed by the intrigues of the
kislar aga, the mufti, and the valid sultaness, & 1145.
He is de-
posed.
 who persuaded Mahmout, that Topal Osman
 protected the Giaurs too openly. The emperor
 listened much to his mother ; but he would
 not punish a man who had done good. Ali ba-
 shaw, who commanded in Georgia, was recalled
 to come and govern the empire under the orders
 of the imperious valid. Topal Osman was sent
 in the place of the new grand vizier, with the
 title of bashaw of three-tails.

Topal Osman possessed talents for war, and J.C. 1733.
 soon found an occasion to exercise them. He Heg. 1145,
 & 1146.
 was hardly arrived at Teflis, when he learned the
 news of a third revolution in Persia. Thamas
 Kouli-khan, notwithstanding the signification of
 the name which he had taken, having declared
 his disapprobation of the peace concluded by his
 master without his participation, had entered If-
 pahan, shut up Shah Thamas in a close prison,
 and caused a child of that prince, about six weeks
 old, to be proclaimed sophi of Persia. He had
 declared himself regent of the kingdom under
 the name of this child ; and the troops had ac-
 knowledged him without any one's presuming to
 oppose his design, or even murmur in favor of the
 dethroned prince. These commotions had been
 foreseen at Constantinople some time before they
 happened, because Thamas Kouli-khan had pre-

The war
with Persia
recom-
mences.
Thamas
Kouli-
khan em-
prisons his
master and
usurps the
regency.

J.C. 1733.
Heg. 1145,
& 1146.

sumed to write in the name of his master, to disclaim the peace which had been concluded ; and that a few days after, fresh dispatches had arrived from Ispahan, by which Shah Thamas in his turn disclaimed his minister. When Topal Osman wrote to Constantinople that Shah Thamas was dethroned, they had just learned there that the Russians had concluded a peace with Persia, and that all the efforts of the new usurper were going to be turned against the Porte. Mahmout wrote a circular letter to all the Persian governors to exhort them to be faithful to the sophi, reminding them how much mischief the preceding revolutions had done their country.

Meanwhile Thamas Kouli-khan, who had confirmed the peace made with Russia, menaced Bagdad. The bashaw of that place had shut himself up there with a strong garrison. The bashaw of Aleppo had received orders to join Topal Osman, bashaw of Teflis. All the begler-begs and sanguacs of Asia had likewise sent off the corps that they commanded, to increase the army of Topal Osman. This general, who knew the value of time, had hastened to succour Bagdad before all these troops had joined his army. He kept Thamas Kouli-khan in observation, and prevented his beginning the siege ; but he would not give him battle 'till he should be the strongest.

Battle near
Bagdad,
gained by
Topal Of-
man.

At length, as soon as he had gotten together an hundred and fifty thousand men, he began his march to attack the Persians. Thamas Kouli-

khan

khan would rather go against an enemy than wait J.C. 1733.
for him in a disadvantageous situation : in order ^{Heg. 1145,}
^{& 1146.} to defend his camp against the garrison of Bagdad,
which he knew to be considerable, he left twenty
thousand men there. The battle was long and
bloody ; the dispositions of Topal Osman were so
made as to enable his army to surround the Per-
sians. Notwithstanding their valour and the ta-
lents of their general, after an uninterrupted
struggle of seven hours, they took to flight,
leaving thirty thousand dead on the field of bat-
tle. Thamas Kouli-khan had been dangerously
wounded in the beginning of the battle ; this
misfortune contributed greatly to the defeat of
his army. The garrison of Bagdad sallied out to
attack the guard of the camp, which was presently
put to flight. The Turks pillaged the tents of
this Persian who two days before had menaced to
sack Bagdad and drag all those who should escape
the sword into the dungeons of Ispahan. Topal
Osman having the next day made his entry into
the town, the sort of rejoicings made by the Turks
shewed that they had not yet forgotten their an-
cient barbarity ; for, instead of these brilliant
festivals made by the Christian people, where
taste, magnificence, and gaiety, reign at the same
time, the Turks, to celebrate their victory, raised,
in the middle of the grand square at Bagdad, a
pyramid composed of all the heads of the Per-
sians that they could find, and gave vent to their
ferocious joy at the sight of this carnage, which
should

J.C. 1733. should have occasioned only pity, disgust, and
Heg. 1145,
& 1146. horror.

This general is refused the money necessary to pay his troops.

Topal Osman learned that Thamas Kouli-khan was at Hamadan, where he had gathered together the broken remains of his army, and where the necessity of healing his wounds retained him against his will. The Turkish bashaw would willingly have pursued the vanquished enemy; but he wanted the means to subsist his troops. The desolated country offered but very few resources, and the grand vizier, Ali bashaw, who had sent Topal Osman orders to make war, had neglected to furnish him with the money necessary to maintain a great army in a barren country. These circumstances forced the general to consent to the separation of his forces, which he could not otherwise maintain. He sent six thousand men to occupy the narrow passes that separate the country of Hamadan from Georgia, and retired himself to Kerkoud with thirty thousand men only, dispersing the rest of his victorious army in the sanguiacates from whence they had been taken. Topal Osman was quiet at Kerkoud and proposed to pass the winter there, as his want of money would not permit him to profit by the victory, when he learned that Thamas Kouli-khan, whose wounds were healed, had just received a reinforcement of forty thousand men, which his son had brought him from several provinces of Persia. Topal wrote to Constantinople to press the succours necessary to act against the Persian usurper,

representing

representing how wrong it was to prolong the war, J.C. 1733.
 whilst with victorious troops he could have put Heg. 1145,
 & 1146. He finds
means to
procure
some.

an end to it gloriously in a single campaign, if he had been furnished with the money necessary to subsist these brave men three months only. The court of Constantinople was at that time taken up with European affairs ; and the valid sultaness, the kislar agasi, and the grand vizier, would fain deprive Topal Osman of the means to acquire more glory. The general received no answer : he thought it his duty to do his utmost to serve the cause of his master, in spite of those who betrayed him. Topal Osman solicited the neighbouring Arabians, in the name of the powerful emperor of the Turks, to lend him money, for which he had the greatest occasion, and which, he said, circumstances had not permitted to be sent into Georgia, but that should be faithfully repaid, and would bring them recompenses proportionable to the service. He pawned every thing that he had valuable, and, with the resources which his zeal furnished him, he assembled forty thousand men, whom he encamped under Ker-koud, as likewise the thirty thousand that he had there already behind intrenchments which he had made by way of employing his troops when they were at rest. This army was scarcely gotten together, when Topal Osman learned, that the defilés which he had caused to be guarded had just been forced by the Persians, and that Thamas Kouli-khan was advancing towards him with his army ;

J.C. 1732. army; he even received a letter from that general,
 Heg. 1144, & 1145. who exhorted him to evacuate Georgia, "or else,"
 Thamas said he, "I will come and take you from your
 Kouli-khan and Topal Of. man brave one ano-
 ther reciprocally." said he, "I will come and take you from your
 cradle like a child." In order to understand
 the meaning of this threat, it is necessary to know,
 that Topal Osman, crippled with the gout, could
 not mount on horseback, and that he appeared
 constantly at the head of his army in a sort of litter,
 which Thamas Kouli-khan thought fit to call a
 cradle, because he would fain throw ridicule on the
 apparent effeminacy of his enemy. The Turk-
 ish séraskier replied to this insulting letter, that
 he was sick and crippled; that it was impossible
 for him to march to the Persians; but that he
 was calmly waiting for them to come to him.

The Turks beat the Persians. The Persians appeared in effect the 22d of October in sight of Kerkoud to the number of sixty thousand fighting men: they saw with astonishment that the Turks were well intrenched and more numerous than themselves; for the Persian usurper knew very well that Topal Osman had been obliged to separate his army; but he knew nothing of the efforts which he had made since to assemble troops. Topal, who had the advantage of situation, and a decided ascendency over Thamas Kouli-khan, beat him again, killed seven thousand of his men, and took three thousand prisoners. Crippled as he was said to be, he pursued him to Keilan, a town about eighteen miles from Kerkoud, where the usurper re-assembled his routed army. The Persian troops had

had not had time to recover from their fright ; J.C. 1733.
Heg. 1145,
& 1146. though they were already intrenched, Topal Of- man had the glory to beat them a third time. On Thamas
Kouli-
khan asks
peace of
Topal Of-
man, who
refuses it
him. this disaster Thamas Kouli-khan changed both conduct and language. He retreated with the remains of his army towards the defilés which it had been his misfortune to force, and sent two deputies to the vanquisher to sue for peace. Topal Osman replied, that the invincible emperor his master made no treaties with usurpers. But as the winter was growing severe, and the resources which he had made such a good use of were quite drained, he separated his army for the second time, and wrote from Keilan to the Porte to complain of the shameful condition in which he was left.

The divan of Constantinople was on the point J.C. 1734.
Heg. 1146,
& 1147. of entering into a war with Russia. Several bashaws were for declaring war against that power ; Origin of
the war
with Rus-
sia. first, because a Russian army opposed the passage of the Tartars into Persia, and secondly, because the Moscovites, in concert with Charles VI. had sent troops into Poland to sustain the election of king Augustus II. elector of Saxony, against that of king Stanislaus Leczinski, whom the Poles had called for the second time to their throne. The kings of France, Spain, and Sardinia, were united Efforts of
France to
engage the
Porte in
the party of
Stanislaus
king of
Poland. in favor of this last. The marquis of Villeneuve, the French ambassador at Constantinople, had orders to make the divan comprehend, that it was the interest of the Porte to oppose the choice of

J.C. 1734. the emperor of the West, and to place a prince on
Heg. 1146, & 1147. the throne of Poland who would enter into no
leagues either with the house of Austria or the
empress of Russia, who should be indebted for his
crown in part to the Ottoman empire, and who,
united to France by gratitude and blood, would
be the constant friend of the Porte like the king
his son-in-law. The marquis of Villeneuve was
ordered to send an able negotiator to the khan of
the Tartars, to make that prince understand, that
the pretensions of his crown over that of the
Russians, from whom the Tartars had for two
centuries past been demanding a tribute, could
never be better realized than at the time when
that nation had sent all its forces into Poland;
that he could not find a finer occasion to ravage
the Ukraine; and that it would be more advan-
tageous to declare war against the Russians, than
to experience acts of hostility from them on the
confines of Persia, without presuming to under-
take any thing against them. The marquis of
Villeneuve dispatched baron Tott, a Swedish
nobleman, attached to the service of France, a
man well skilled and instructed in the interests of
princes, who acquitted himself so well of his
commission, that the khan of the Tartars said
publicly, he would rather lose his crown than not
procure that of Poland for king Stanislaus.

The king of Poland Augustus II. opposed to
all these schemes a great deal of money, which he
scattered both in the harem and among the Otto-

man

man ministers. Eight hundred purses given the J.C. 1734.
 grand vizier Ali drew a prohibition to the khan Heg. 1146,
 of the Tartars to march any troops into the & 1147.
 Ukraine under pain of being deposed. Nevertheless he declared war against the czarina; he repeated continually to the divan the reasons furnished him by the French ambassador, and he gave for excuse for not sending any succours to the brave Topal Osman, the necessity of sending Tartars into Persia through the country which belonged to Russia. All Constantinople was resounding with the noise of these preparations, which were made with as much pomp as flowness, when the news arrived that Topal Osman, depending too much on his ascendancy, had attacked Thamas Kouli-khan with the few troops that he had left; that the Turks had been beaten, and their general killed in the battle; that since Death of
 this loss, the Persian usurper had recovered his man.
 former valour; that the broken remains of the beaten army had been driven back beyond Tauris; and that there was great reason to fear for Bagdad. These news threw Constantinople into Disaster of
 a consternation, which was the more dangerous, the Turks.
 as the jealousy against Topal Osman was the sole cause of this disaster; and all the misfortunes of the war ought to be attributed to the obstinacy of the grand vizier, as he had let the army serving in Persia be destroyed, whilst sixty thousand regular troops, assembled in Natolia, waited only

J.C. 1734. for the orders of the prime minister to repair to
 Heg. 1146,
 & 1147. the succour of Topal Osman.

A peace is concluded with Persia, and disowned by the emperor, who sends troops thither.

The discontent was at its height, when two months after they learned that Achmet, bashaw of Bagdad, who was plenipotentiary for making a peace conjointly with Topal Osman, had concluded a treaty with Thamas Kouli-khan, almost immediately after the death of his colleague, by which all Georgia was given up to the usurper. A divan was assembled, in which the mufti, after lamenting the loss of Topal Osman, which he imputed less to the sword of the Persians than to the malice of his enemies, declared, that the peace just made with the usurper of Persia, was against the letter and spirit of the Alcoran, which forbids to remit voluntarily to Infidels or heretics the places in which a lawful worship has been rendered to God. The discontent of the people was so general, and the clamours of the effendis had so much effect, that the vizier, who had wished this disadvantageous peace, was constrained to seem to disapprove it. He got the emperor Mahmout to sign the deposition of Achmet bashaw, and the disavowal of the peace sworn to, and he sent off Abdalla, a bashaw of three-tails and lately become brother-in-law to the grand seignior, to Persia with sixty thousand men that had been stopped for two years past in Natolia. But this new general had orders to evacuate all the towns in Georgia just as he should be required to ; not to commit any act of hostility, either offensive or defensive,

defensive, in this province ; and to try only to obtain from Thamas Kouli-khan, by negotiation, some of those places which Achmet had given up, and some mitigation of the treaty which the people complained so violently against.

The French ambassador would fain take advantage of the peace with Persia to prevail on the Turks to declare war at the same time against Russia and the emperor Charles VI. The conjuncture was favorable : Lewis XV.'s arms had been victorious in Italy ; a powerful party still sustained king Stanislaus in Poland, and there was reason to think that the kingdom of France and the Ottoman empire might make an equal advantage of an union between them, by attacking the common enemy at the two opposite bounds of his empire, and placing a friendly prince on the throne of Poland. The peace which Russia had just concluded with Persia, the cession which it had made the latter of the province of the Daghestan, the people of which are Sunnite Musulmen, and the menaces of the czarina, who was preparing to besiege Asoph, clearly shewed the bad intentions of that power. The marquis of Villeneuve pressed the grand vizier to send troops into Hungary, to hinder the emperor of the West from succouring the empress of Russia. Prince Ragotski was always a formidable instrument against the house of Austria. The Turks had invited him to the Porte, and this prince offered them his pretensions and services to make an incursion

The
French en-
deavour to
make the
Turks de-
clare war
against the
emperor of
the West.

J.C. 1734.
Heg. 1146,
& 1147. curſion into Hungary, whilst the emperor Charles VI. was obliged to oppose two armies, the one in Germany and the other in Italy, against the French, Spaniards, and Piedmontese, united. The bashaw of Bonneval, a French nobleman, who, after having deserted his country to serve the emperor, had quitted Germany and his religion to turn Mussulman, was the creature and counſellor of the grand vizier. He diſſuaded his protector from carrying the war into Hungary, unless the French engaged by a solemn treaty not to lay down their arms 'till the Ottoman empire should have made a peace, and that they would direct their operations in concert with the divan of Constantinople. However favorable the diversion of the Turks might be to France and the cause of king Stanislaus, Lewis XV. and cardinal Fleury, his minister, would on no account make an alliance with the Mussulmen against a catholic power.

The house
of Austria
and the
house of
Bourbon
make their
peace.

Meanwhile a treaty of pacification was entered on between the house of Bourbon and the house of Austria. The king of France and king Stanislaus gave up all their pretensions, either in Italy or Poland, for the dutchy of Lorrain, which Stanislaus was to enjoy the rest of his life. Lewis XV. chose rather to acquire irrevocably a fine province, which would be an honorable retreat for the king his father-in-law, than spill more blood to replace that prince on the elective throne from which he had formerly descended. The peace

peace between the two powers that then formed J.C. 1734.
 the balance of Europe was concluded a long time Heg. 1146,
 before it was published; but the Turks soon & 1147.
 knew that they could not hope for any diversion
 from that quarter.

Whilst the divan was foreseeing an inevitable J.C. 1735.
 war with Russia, and dreading likewise the junc- Heg. 1148.
 tion of the emperor Charles VI. with this formi-
 dable enemy, intelligence arrived, that Abdalla
 bashaw, who commanded in Persia, far from fol-
 lowing the pacific instructions which he had re-
 ceived, had had the boldness to fight Thamas
 Kouli-khan, and been entirely defeated near Eri-
 van. Common report, which swells every thing,
 made the loss amount to forty thousand men.
 This melancholy intelligence increased the con-
 fusion, which the affairs of the Porte had conti-
 nually been in since Ali bashaw was minister,
 even in the midst of success.

A revolution was feared at Constantinople.
 The grand vizier sent express orders to the ba-
 shaw of Bagdad to take the command of the army
 against the Persians, to confirm the peace with
 them by the entire sacrifice of Georgia, and to
 have Abdalla bashaw strangled as an infringer of
 the treaty already concluded with Thamas Kouli-
 khan. The punishment of this incapable general
 drew along with it the fall of the vizier, still more
 incapable. Abdalla bashaw was brother-in-law
 to the grand seignior; his wife, who loved him, Deposition
 of Ali.
 and the valid sultaness, accused Ali of being the
 sole

J.C. 1735. sole cause of all the misfortunes of which Abdalla
 Heg. 1148. had been the victim. They affirmed that Ali
 bashaw alone had lost the Persian army, by refus-
 ing Topal Osman reinforcements and money.
 They had the boldness to add, that the grand vi-
 zier having joined treachery to incapacity, had
 secretly ordered a lieutenant of Topal Osman's to
 run away, and to draw the troops after him the day
 that this illustrious general fell. If this account
 had been credited, Ali bashaw would have been
 utterly undone. The memory of Topal Osman
 was revered throughout the empire, and his assas-
 sin would have been infallibly torn to pieces by
 the people, if he had not been condemned to
 death by the sultan. Ali bashaw was only made
 a mazul, without experiencing either exile or
 confiscation of property, and he lived two years
 quietly at Constantinople, like a man who had
 not been deserving of the treatment which he had
 received. At length he was sent bashaw to the
 province of Bosnia, where we shall again see him
 act a considerable part.

J.C. 1736. The cession of Georgia consolidated the peace
 Heg. 1149. with Persia. The Turks were indebted for the
 Peace con-
 firmed with
 Persia. preservation of Bagdad to the troubles which still
 agitated this nation. Thamas Kouli-khan, who
 meditated to become entire sovereign of this
 great empire, was earnest to free himself from fo-
 reign wars. It was stipulated in the treaty that
 the Persians should have liberty to go in pilgram-
 age to Mecca; and that the places revered by
 the

the Mussulmen of every sect should be open to J.C. 1736.
them. Thamas Kouli-khan was acknowledged Heg. 1149.
regent of Persia by the Turks.

Ishmael bashaw, successor to Ali, got the post of grand vizier by the interest of the kislar aga and the sultanesSES. He was but just in possession of the seals, when an envoy from Russia came to present him with a declaration of war. The czarina mentioned several motives in it for the rupture: the protection formerly granted to the rebels of Persia against the czar Peter I.; the recent inroads of the Tartars into the Russian territories; and the refusal which the Porte had made to repress them. Notwithstanding these motives set forth at length, the czarina gave to understand, that she would not refuse an accommodation. The Turks, who desired it more than the Russians, did not imprison her resident, as is their custom, for fear of giving matter for new grievances. They conducted him to Bender in the retinue of the army which they sent thither under the command of the grand vizier. As the Turks did not dissemble the desire they had to settle this quarrel without bloodshed, the English and Dutch ambassadors and the resident of the emperor of the West offered the mediation of their masters. The motives which engaged these powers to discuss the interests of the Turks, should have determined the latter to refuse their mediation. The emperor of Germany had the greatest interest to weaken them. England and

J.C. 1736. Holland were too much connected with the house
 Heg. 1149. of Austria, for these mediators not to be suspic-
 ous ; but the divan, directed by an eunuch and
 a woman, shewed only weakness and incapacity.
 The mediation of the emperor of the West was
 accepted, lest he should become a party, and
 England and Holland were associated with it for
 fear of disaffecting them. France, the natural
 friend of the Porte, was the only Christian power
 in which it had confidence. But the marquis of
 Villeneuve saw his master in peace with all Eu-
 rope ; he had received orders some time before to
 foment the war, but was ignorant of the present
 intentions of his court. This minister would not
 presume to enter on a pacific negotiation, as the
 marquis of Bonac had done in a circumstance
 much less equivocal : he lost not a moment to
 desire instructions, and sent a druggerman to the
 Bender army with intention to keep up a constant
 correspondence with the grand vizier.

The Rus-
 sians take
 Asoph.

The news were just arrived that Asoph had sur-
 rendered to the Russians after a siege of six months.
 The khan of the Tartars, to revenge himself for
 the havock which a Russian army under the com-
 mand of count Munich had just made in Crimea,
 entered the Ukraine with forty thousand men.
 Mahmout, who constantly flattered himself with
 a peace, deposed this prince, under pretence of
 having acted against the express orders of the
 Porte. Mr. Talleman, Charles VI.'s ambassador,
 proposed, as a mean of pacification, that the

Turks

Turks should consent to leave Asoph to Russia. J.C. 1736.
Heg. 1149.

This was assuring the navigation of the Black sea to that nation for ever, putting it in the power of the enemy of the Turks to penetrate to Constantinople itself, and procuring the Russians a great commerce both on the Black sea and the Mediterranean. Whilst Mr. Talleman was receiving audience of the grand seignior, in quality of ambassador extraordinary mediator between the two powers, and every day urging conferences between the ministers of the Porte and the resident of the czarina, the Austrian troops advanced towards Hungary, and the Turks clearly perceived that this pretended mediation was nothing but a design between several powers to seize and divide their spoils.

Meanwhile the marquis of Villeneuve received full instructions from his court. He was enjoined to make use of his good offices to procure the Turks a solid peace, but particularly to assure them that France was resolved not to take up arms, and consequently they could not expect any diversion. He was recommended to hinder, as much as he possibly could, the Russians from obtaining the free navigation of the Black sea and the Mediterranean. This last article interested the English and Dutch as much as the French. But the ambassador of the Austrian monarch, who did not take much pains to disguise his partiality for the Russians, had the address to keep away these two mediators, with whom he would not

J.C. 1736.
Heg. 1150.

The French
ambassador
endeavours
to bring
about a
peace.

J.C. 1737.
Heg. 1150.

have agreed. He raised innumerable difficulties on the ceremonial, which drove away the ambassadors of these two powers, so much does vanity prevail with nations, as with most of mankind, over the most powerful interests. The grand vizier was at Bender at the head of the Ottoman army. On receiving advice that the Austrians were marching forces towards Hungary, instead of going against them, he wrote to the court of Vienna to know in what manner the emperor of the West would act in case the obstinacy of the Russians to preserve Asoph should oblige the Porte to continue the war. Count Konizeg replied without evasion, that his imperial majesty wished for peace before every thing, and would neglect nothing to confirm it between his allies; but that if it could not be effected, the emperor would not refuse succours to the empress of Russia, pursuant to the mutual agreement that was between the two crowns. The Turks, who had lately sent away prince Ragotski from Constantinople, for fear of giving umbrage to the emperor of the West, were at length clearly convinced that this prince was really their enemy, and that they could not expect an impartial mediation but from France. The marquis of Villenueve had not quitted Constantinople. The French ambassador never follows the Turkish army, unless the grand seignior commands it in person. He sent baron Tott, of whom we have already spoken, to Bender camp, to persuade the minister that, in

the

the present conjuncture, the Turks being certain [C. 1737.
Heg. 115o.]
that the house of Austria would declare for Russia,
and that France would not arm against the
Germans, it was the interest of the Porte to make
a peace; that if the Russians insisted on keeping
Asoph, it was possible to give up that place without
leaving them thereby the entrance to the
Black sea, by fortifying Kuban, situated on the
borders of the straits of Zabach, which form the
communication between Asoph and the Black
sea; that then the Turks would have nothing to
fear from the incursions of the Russian ships of
war, or the competition of their merchants. The
grand vizier complained at first to baron Tott,
that France, which, three years before, had been
desirous of arming the Turks against the house of
Austria, exhorted them now to make a disadvantageous
peace. The negotiator replied, with that
candour which renders the proceeding respectable,
when one knows not how to swerve from it:
“ We persuaded you to go to war when the Russians
had an army in Poland to sustain the
election of king Augustus, when the emperor,
who now menaces you, was attacked at the
same time by France, Spain, and Sardinia.
“ You might then have expected success, and
your efforts against the house of Austria would
have been useful to us as well as to you. At
present, king Augustus is quietly seated on the
throne of Poland; Austria and the confederate
powers are at peace; and the king of France
“ neither

J.C. 1737. " neither will nor ought to make his subjects
Heg. 1150. " bear the weight of an useleſs war : he owes you
" nothing but good offices, and these he will
" always render you. We advised you to go to
" war three years ago for the common interests
" of our empire and yours. Now we advise you
" to a peace solely for your advantage." The
marquis of Villeneuve said as much to the cai-
macan of Constantinople, and he hinted to him
likewise, that the king of Poland, who was in-
debted for his crown in great part to the Russians,
might well be expected not to remain neuter in a
war against his benefactors. France had but one
interest in this affair, that of hindering the Russians
from entering either the Black sea or the Medi-
terranean. This object was thought to be at-
tained by advising the Turks to give up Asoph
and build themselves two other keys to those
feas. The marquis of Villeneuve had relied in
this respect on the ministers of England and Hol-
land, who had the same interest as the French to
keep the Russians from extending their naviga-
tion ; but, as we have already said, Mr. Talle-
man, the emperor of the West's plenipotentiary,
had found means to exclude these two powers
from the mediation, and the Porte soon learned
that the Russian army which had taken Asoph
was menacing Kilbournow and Oczacow.

Notwithstanding the little confidence which the
Turks had in their mediator, they sent plenipo-
tentaries to Niemmirowa, a frontier town of Po-
land,

land, where the czarina had desired that the congress might assemble. The ambassador of the emperor of the West was already gone thither. The king of Poland had consented that the congress should be held in this town, which belonged to him, on condition that the ambassadors of each of the powers should come there without guards, and trust to him for their security. Whilst the Russian plenipotentiaries were impatiently expected there, the news arrived that the Moscovite army had in the mean time taken Oczacow and Kilbournow, and that a body of Austrian troops, under the command of general Vallis, had entered Walachia, and detached parties to reduce Moldavia. The Turks then perceived that the empress of Russia's desiring to have a congress assembled in a Polish town, was merely to get the ambassador of Charles VI. out of their hands, especially when Mr. Talleman had declared to them, that if a treaty of peace were made, his master would have each continue in possession of what he had conquered; and that consequently Walachia and Moldavia should be confirmed to the emperor of the West to pay him for his mediation. The conferences were presently broken up.

J.C. 1737.
Heg. 1150.

Useless
conferences
at Niem-
mirowa.

Oczacow
and Kil-
bournow
taken.

The people were irritated at Constantinople at the war's being carried on with so little vigour, and that the minister, deceived by false appearances, left the enemies of the empire the leisure and opportunity to strip it, whilst they kept a fine

army

J.C. 1737. army in the most profound inaction. The clamours of the people having reached the seraglio, made the sultan uneasy, and decided the fall of the grand vizier and his kiaia.

Heg. 1150. The grand vizier is deposed.

The kislar aga, who divided the whole confidence of his master with the valid sultaness, persuaded him, that the kiaia, who was the grand vizier's confident and counsellor, had carried on a secret correspondence with the enemies of the state, and that the inaction of the army was more owing to his treachery than to the remissness of the grand vizier. The selictar aga was immediately dispatched to the army. This officer declared the deposition of Ishmael and the punishment of the kiaia, and presented the seals to Siegen, a bashaw of three-tails, who immediately took the command of the troops.

The new general lost no time to repair the faults of his predecessor. The very day that the selictar aga left the army, after having acquitted himself of his commission, he was present at a victory wherein the Imperialists lost four thousand men killed on the field of battle, and fifteen hundred prisoners. Count Seckendorf, who commanded the Austrians, was constrained to abandon Walachia; he was beaten a second time the same campaign on the confines of Servia, and saw Nissa taken by the Turks, without his beaten and dispersed army being able to give it the least succour. The Russians were stopped at the same time by the new khan of the Tartars. The severity of the winter, which had already commenced,

His success
for beats
count
Seckendorf
several
times, and
takes Nissa.

J.C. 1737.
Heg. 1150.

commenced, obliged the Turks to go into quarters; but the recovered courage of this nation rendered the ministers more difficult on the conditions of peace, which the marquis of Villeneuve was continually proposing.

Siegen bashaw, on his return to Constantinople, was received with the transports of joy which his recent victories occasioned in the people, who, for a long time past, had experienced nothing but misfortunes. Charles VI. perceived too late that his armies were no longer commanded by prince Eugene. He had count Seckendorf arrested and his conduct inquired into, making him responsible for the misfortunes of the last campaign. He desired to have the conferences recommenced at Nienmirowa, and solicited the mediation of France with sincerity, offering to be answerable for the adherence of the czarina to the future treaty. But the Turks, as much irritated at having for enemy the very prince whom they had chosen for arbitrator, as elated with their new success, far from thinking of a peace, had invited prince Ragotski from Rodosto, where he lived in obscurity, and were preparing to send him into Transylvania at the head of an army. They talked at the seraglio of not making a peace 'till after the conquest of Belgrade, Buda, and Temeswar.

The Turks,
elated with
their suc-
cess, pre-
pare anew
for the
war.

Siegen bashaw would not listen to the marquis of Villeneuve, who told him, that the diversion of prince Ragotski might do the Turks more

^{J.C. 1737.} ~~Heg. 1150.~~ mischief than good, since that prince was not elected by the Transylvanians, as his father had been, and that a people jealous of its laws would not receive a sovereign more voluntarily from the hands of the Porte than from those of the emperor of the West. Notwithstanding these sage representations, prince Ragotski was declared waywode of Transylvania; he received in person the standard and mace of arms, the marks of investiture, with more pomp than the Turks generally make use of in these ceremonies. But the new sovereign, who knew by the experience of his ancestors how little was to be depended on the Porte, published a manifesto, by the advice of the marquis of Villeneuve, which declared to the Transylvanians, that he, Ragotski, took the title given him by the Ottoman emperor, without pretending to any right to their sovereignty 'till they should have conferred it on him by a voluntary election.

^{J.C. 1738.} ~~Heg. 1151.~~ The winter was passed in unsuccessful negotiations. In the spring, the grand vizier sent word to the French ambassador, that sultan Mahmout would never hear of a peace except through the mediation of his master, but that the grand seignior expected that the success of this campaign would be such as should constrain the enemies of the Porte to make more advantageous proposals. Though the czarina had sent to the marquis of Villeneuve her consent to the proposals presented by the emperor of the West for her

her and himself, she sent the mediator another J.C. 1738.
Heg. 1151. power which changed all the preceding dispositions, and gave him just reason to suspect the sincerity of her ministers. He had no longer room to doubt it when he learned by the Embassy from Per-
fia. secretary of a Persian ambassador, just arrived at Constantinople, that this minister was come principally to offer the mediation of Thamas Kouli-khan between the Russians and Ottomans; but the Turks preferred the good offices, and especially the guaranteeé of France, to the offers of an usurper, whom they could not look upon as an ally, and whom they did not believe very well secured on his throne. They rejected the proposals of Thamas Kouli-khan, the more affirmatively, as he demanded permission to keep an iman at Mecca, and wanted to introduce by degrees a sort of communion between the Aliians and Sunnites, which the latter refused with horror.

However, the Turks, who at first had been beaten, had this same campaign a success which seemed to promise them a more disadvantageous peace. Elias bashaw, who had laid siege to Orsowa in the very beginning of the spring, was forced to raise it, and was pursued by the Imperialists beyond the Danube. On the arrival of the grand vizier, who brought a reinforcement, the Ottomans repassed the river a third time, drove the Imperialists back as far as Meadia, which they made themselves masters of in a few days, and forced their en-

Success of
the cam-
paign.

J.C. 1738.
Heg. 1151. mies to retire to Islatim. Siegen recommenced the siege of Orsowa, and in six weeks took that place, with great slaughter. Sciaus bashaw took Semendriah and Ignipalé with less difficulty. In the midst of the rejoicings occasioned by these important conquests, they learned that the captain bashaw, who kept the sea with a hundred and twenty sail, had blocked up the Russian admiral in a corner of the straits of Zabach ; that the Russians had been constrained to abandon their vessels, after having set them on fire ; that they had been harrassed by the Turks in their retreat from Crimea ; and that they had passed the Boristhenes in disorder. Prince Ragotski less fortunate than his allies, had not been able to raise up many malecontents either in Hungary or Transsylvania ; and as it was impossible for him to undertake any thing with so few men, he was come to put himself in safety in the Turkish camp. Siegen bashaw, elated with these successes, was desirous of crowning them by the siege of Belgrade ; but the season was far advanced. The governor of Nissa having sent word to him that a corps of Imperialists had passed the Danube, and were threatening his town, which was neither sufficiently well guarded nor provisioned to sustain a long siege, Siegen resolved through necessity to retreat towards that place ; this was what the Imperialists wanted. They turned back under Belgrade, and went into winter quarters. The grand vizier, who learned

secretly

secretly that they were caballing against him at J.C. 1738.
Heg. 1151. Constantinople, desired his master's permission to return thither, that the affairs of state, he said, might be transacted under the eyes of the emperor. Sultan Mahmout wished to have the success of this campaign represented to the people and his enemies as of great importance. He would have Siegen make a triumphant entry, and went himself to meet him. The grand vizier, immediately on the sultan's approach, laid at his feet the standard of Mahomet, which he had always had carried before him, and the keys of Meadia, Semendriah, Ignipalé, and Orsowa, towns conquered during the campaign.

Siegen, on his arrival at the Porte, found two brothers there sent from Sweden, who were come to conclude a treaty of commerce with the Turks, and to endeavour to come to some agreement about the ancient debts contracted by Charles XII. These two points were soon settled. The Turks, who looked upon the money which they had lent Charles XII. as a bad debt, were contented to receive for payment a ship of seventy-two guns, which came with the Swedish ministers to Constantinople, and thirty thousand firelocks brought in that ship. The treaty of commerce was concluded on the conditions granted to the other Christian nations. But another secret object of the mission of the Swedes was to have their master included in the intended treated of pacification between the Porte and the confederate powers.

The

Ministers
from Swe-
den arrive
at the
Porte.
Obstacles
to the con-
clusion of
the treaty.

J.C. 1738.
Heg. 1151. The Swedes had a very powerful interest in it; they were afraid that the czarina would declare war against them as soon as she should be at peace with the Turks, and they would fain have the mediator obtain places of security for the Swedes on the frontiers of Russia which adjoin Sweden. The marquis of Villeneuve, who saw already too many difficulties in the great work which he had undertaken, remonstrated to the grand vizier, and even to the Swedish envoys, how unreasonable it would be to include in a treaty of pacification a power that was not at war with either of the contracting parties. The bashaw of Bonneval, the only man who possessed knowledge at the Porte, says abbot Laugier, and whom the ministry listened to, without however giving him any confidence, supported the pretensions of the Swedes with all his might. He was strongly suspected of having raised up this obstacle through animosity against the emperor Charles VI. to retard the peace; he was sent into exile at Castellemenen. This stroke, which came from the prime minister, made people think that he wished for a peace; but his success had so elated him, that he offered it only on conditions which the belligerent powers could not accept without disgrace. Prince Ragotski was lately dead. Though this event seemed to remove an obstacle, since the Ottoman empire was neither connected with the posterity of that prince nor with his supposed subjects, Siegen demanded to have Transylvania restored its right of election;

election; that all the places which he had conquered the last campaign should be confirmed to the Porte; and that the Russians, who had just demolished and abandoned Kilbournow and Ozacow, should restore Asoph fortified, in order that the Turks might be able to keep them from the Black sea.

It was not solely to the enemies of the Porte that Siegen bashaw shewed himself untractable; the vanquisher of the Germans did not take the pains to conceal his contempt for the kislar aga, whom the valid sultaness and the sultan equally favored. He heard with indignation the advice which this officer and those of his party gave the monarch, to take advantage of the fortune of his arms to make a solid peace, and never to contemn a vanquished enemy. The marquis of Villeneuve, who was well acquainted with courts, foresaw the fall of this imperious minister, and announced it in France several weeks before it happened, on the druggerman of the Porte's relating to him, that the reis effendi and the mektoupchi had presumed to contradict the grand vizier openly about the peace, in presence of Mahmout.

The grand vizier, having a good opinion of himself, and persuaded that the command of the army durst not be intrusted to any other than him, was preparing to return to Adrianople, when the capigli pachi came to demand the seals of the empire of him, and to declare, that he must

J.C. 1738.
Heg. 1151.

J.C. 1739.
Heg. 1152.
Deposition
of the vi-
zier Siegen.

J.C. 1739. must instantly depart for which of the isles of
Heg. 1152. the Archipelago he should think fit to choose.

His property was not touched, without doubt through acknowledgment for the real services Elias made which he had done. The seals of the empire grand vizier. were given to Elias Mehemet, the bashaw who commanded the army with success in 1737, and who had been constrained to raise the siege of Orsowa the beginning of the last campaign. Siegen, jealous of this general, perhaps by a foresight of what was to happen, had taken the dignity of bashaw of three tails from him after the raising of the siege of Orsowa; but it was restored to him almost immediately by the credit of the sultaness-mother. The disgrace of Siegen put an end to that of the bashaw of Bonneval, who was recalled from his exile and consulted afterward with precaution in all affairs, as a man whose abilities were esteemed, but whose uprightness was suspected.

The new grand vizier had more pacific views than his predecessor; but he thought like him that a solid and honorable peace could be made at the head of a victorious army only. He repaired to Viden to make preparation for the campaign, and wrote to the marquis of Villeneuve, that he must receive his audience of the grand seignior in quality of mediator, and that he would join him afterward at the army, where they would hear together the proposals of the emperor of the West and of the czarina. The caimacan Achmet

met bashaw intimated to the French ambassador [J.C. 1739.
Heg. 1752.] that the peace would be treated of at the head of the army only, because the valid sultaneſ and the kiflar aga would not have the blame of the event attributed to them, if the peace should not be as glorious as the janiffaries, the people, and the ulema wished. The French ambassador, decorated with a new character, received greater honors at the grand feignior's audience than were usually paid to the representative of the first Christian potentate. He was clothed with a cloak of fable; an unusual quantity of caftans was distributed to his retinue, and the train of janiffaries and officers of the seraglio was more numerous at this audience than had ever been seen. As the marquis of Villeneuve was preparing to join the grand vizier, he received dispatches from Vienna, which authorised him, as mediator, to cede the major part of imperial Walachia to the Turks, and half of Servia. It would not have been difficult to conclude a peace at this rate, if the marquis of Villeneuve had received a favorable reply from the czarina to the dispatches by which he demanded her final resolution; but the court of Vienna would not separate itself from Russia, and the cabinet of Petersburg remained silent. It was rumoured that the czarina, fearing the partiality of France, was desirous of having the mediation, or at least the co-mediation, of Poland; but the Turkish ministers declared constantly, that they would have no other

J.C. 1739. mediator than the marquis of Villeneuve if a
 Heg. 1152. peace were never concluded. This ambassador
 The French ambassador sets out for the army. left Constantinople the 15th of June, and the same train that had conducted him to the grand seignior's audience, accompanied him as far as Darud Bashaw. His journey was retarded by an innumerable crowd, come to meet him, who loaded him with benedictions, and warmly solicited him to conclude a glorious peace for them. These marks of an anticipated acknowledgment proved the confidence which the Turkish people have in the French nation, notwithstanding their prejudices against the Christians in general.

He receives dispatches from Russia, and stops at Niessa.

On his arrival at Adrianople, the marquis at length received the answer of the court of Russia. He found by the dispatch of count Ostermann, secretary of state to the czarina, that her imperial majesty persisted in retaining Asoph, in order to preserve her dominions from the incursions of the Tartars. The Russian minister endeavoured to prove, that the cession of this place would be of no injury to the Turks, because if the Russians incroached on the grand seignior's dominions, the powers interested in the preservation of the Ottoman empire with regard to their commerce, would lend the latter succours; that moreover the Turks would be at liberty to build a fortress near Kuban, on the frontiers that should be assigned them; that it should be stipulated in the treaty that Russia should not keep any fleet on the sea of Asoph, and that the commerce of the Russians

sians on that sea and the Black sea should be carried on in Turkish bottoms only. These dispatches were brought the French ambassador by Mr. Cagnoni, a man chosen by the Russian ministry to explain and secretly direct the negotiation. He accompanied the pacquets which he gave the marquis of Villeneuve with a bill payable to the bearer for thirty-five thousand piastres, drawn on some merchants at Marseilles. The French ambassador, after having thanked Mr. Cagnoni, returned him the bill, saying, that he had not yet done any thing that deserved a recompense from the czarina; that if the negotiation should end in a manner agreeable to that princess, he would not refuse the testimony of satisfaction which her majesty should be pleased to honor him with, persuaded that it would be of a nature agreeable to the character with which he was invested. The marquis of Villeneuve received at Nissa dispatches from the grand vizier, which desired him to remain in that town till a more favorable time for entering on a conference.

J.C. 1739.
Heg. 1152.

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Meanwhile the Turks passed the Moravia to the number of a hundred and thirty thousand men. The Imperialists advanced towards Semendriah. General Munich was at Kaminieck and menaced Choczin. The khan of the Tartars was at Orkapi with sixty thousand men, and he expected reinforcements from the Turks. All these dispositions did not seem to announce a peace; the grand vizier appeared more determined

Motions of
the differ-
ent ar-
mies.

J.C. 1739. Heg. 1152. minded than ever to attack the emperor of the West vigorously. The Austrian army did not amount to twenty-five thousand men; it was intrenched in a place called Kroska. The Turks

Belgrade is invested by the Turks. forced these intrenchments the 25th of July, and the Imperialists retired with loss under Belgrade.

Being attacked a second time, they were constrained to repass the Save: the grand vizier then caused Belgrade to be summoned to surrender. General Vallis, who commanded the army, had shut himself up in that place. He replied to the summons by proposals of peace. The grand vizier immediately sent a courier to the marquis of Villeneuve, for him to come to the camp with all speed.

The French ambassador is sent for to the Turkish army.

Com-mence-ment of the negoti-ation.

The French ambassador found the Turkish army, which he had been told was on the point of wanting provisions, enjoying the greatest abundance. The Ottomans were masters of the course of the Danube, and numerous and well constructed batteries were playing on the fortifications; the trenches too were carried as far as the glacis, and the janissaries were murmuring because they were made wait 'till the ramparts should be open to be led to the assault. The grand vizier told the marquis of Villeneuve, in the first interview which he had with him, that the Austrians began to know their weakness; that general Vallis, authorised with full powers from his master, had sent a colonel from the town to offer him, the grand vizier, one part of Walachia and Servia,

and

and the isle of Orsowa, on condition of demolish- J.C. 1739.
Heg. 1152. ing the fortress; but that God had armed the Ottomans against the knavery of the Austrians; and that as he does not permit an unjust war to have a fortunate issue, the Turks would hear of no proposition 'till Belgrade should be given up to them with the fortifications that the Austrians had made there, and the Porte should be restored every thing that belonged to it by right in Hungary. The marquis, who had received new instructions from the court of Vienna, was sorry to see that the negotiations crossed one another, less through self-love, as he wrote to Versailles, than because the multiplicity of the negotiators could only throw uncertainty and confusion into this great affair. Charles VI. had it so much at heart, that the marquis of Villeneuve was written to from Vienna to go on with the treaty between the Imperialists and the Turks, if not independently of the Russians, at least before speaking of the affairs of that court, only inserting the essential clause that they should be treated of immediately after that of Austria, and both under the guarantee of France. This new instruction was conformable to that which the French ambassador had received from Versailles. He resolved to desire a conference with the plenipotentiary of Vienna, with whom the court of Austria had just associated the count of Neuperg, who arrived at the Turkish camp the 18th of August.

After

J.C. 1739.
Heg. 1152. After the marquis of Villeneuve and he had
had a conversation of several hours, the mediator
went to the grand vizier's tent to propose to him
from the Germans the ancient conditions, adding
thereto the demolition of Belgrade and Sabach.
“ As I have but one God,” replied the grand
vizier, “ I have but one word; I will hear of
“ nothing unless I have Belgrade fortified in my
“ possession.” On this answer general Neuperg
demanded his horses to return into the besieged
town; he was on the point of parting, when the
reis effendi and the kiaia entered the tent of the
marquis of Villeneuve, and having taken him
aside, made him promise not to precipitate any
thing, and not to break off the negotiation, as-
suring him that they would do their utmost to
bring the grand vizier to conditions not so hard.
On this representation the French ambassador pre-
vailed on the count of Neuperg to remain in the
camp two days longer. The grand vizier set his
pretensions so high, only because he thought the
count had an unlimited power to make peace.
His instructions were not inserted in his powers;
and the Turk had seen in them that the count
was to conclude a peace according to his pru-
dence and for the interest of his master and nation.
He thought from this, by keeping him in his
camp, to be able to force him to accede to his
demands. But the stay of the Austrian minister
in the camp made no change in his disposition.

Ali

Ali bashaw of Bosnia, who, as we have seen, had J.C. 1739.
been grand vizier, came the very same day to Heg. 1152. Continua-
tion of the
negotia-
tion.

see the marquis of Villeneuve. He said to him, that the grand vizier was ill, without doubt with vexation at the treaty of peace being so little advanced. He added, that the prime minister could not, without the greatest danger for his person, give up his claim to the place then besieged; that he would rather let all his troops perish around Belgrade, than raise the siege, however rigorous the winter might be, which was as yet at a distance; that a mediator ought to make himself useful to both parties; and that, since he was very certain the Ottomans would not drop their claim to Belgrade, it was the duty of the French ambassador to prevail on the Imperialists to make that cession. The marquis of Villeneuve promised to make new efforts. He went to the count of Neuperg and observed to him, that as the Austrians were not strong enough to bring an army before Belgrade, the place must necessarily be taken sooner or later by the Turks. If the Ottomans, added he, should permit it to be demolished, why would you not give it up to them, when it would be no longer a key to Hungary? The German minister replied, that, if his master gave up Servia, he would be little interested in keeping a town of that province, but that he stuck particularly at the fortifications of Belgrade, because it would be against the equity and glory of the western empire to furnish an infidel power,

the

J.C. 1739.
Heg. 1152. the natural enemy of the sovereign of Hungary,
with a barrier of such importance, which had cost
so much time and so many men, and had been
fortified at the expence of the clergy. On this
explanation the marquis of Villeneuve conceived
some hopes. He went to Ali bashaw to give
him an account of what had just passed between
the German plenipotentiary and himself. Three
of the subaltern ministers of the Porte, who were
in Ali bashaw's tent, said to him, that they did
not think this proposition would be accepted by
the grand vizier; that Elias bashaw would im-
mediately give a final plan to communicate to the
Imperialists; but that he would not send back the
count of Neuperg to Belgrade. The marquis of
Villeneuve, offended at this violence, insisted on
the law of nations, the promise of the grand
vizier, and the asylum of the mediation, which
ought to be sacred. He added, that the affair
of the pacification required that the count should
be sent back, whose dispatches, as long as he
should be retained in the camp, would always
appear to the Germans to be dictated by timidity
and the desire of getting out of the hands of the
Turks, instead of which, if he returned to Bel-
grade, the account which he should give of the
disposition of the Turks and the state of their
army would be believed. The ministers, without
replying to these good reasons, appointed a con-
ference for the next day, at which the grand vizier
Elias bashaw was not present, pretending to be

ill, whether he was really indisposed, or that it J.C. 1739.
was feared the state of his mind would render ^{Heg. 1152.} him incapable of a dry, methodical discussion, necessary to attain his ends. The reis effendi and the mektoupchi spoke in this conference, which was held in presence of all the bashaws and of some agas of the army; they declared, that Belgrade should be the pledge of peace, and its fortifications the surety of it; they enlarged on the causes of the war, the resources of the Turks to prolong it, and the misfortunes that longer hostilities would infallibly bring on Hungary. The marquis of Villeneuve in his turn drew a striking picture of the evils to which the two nations would expose themselves. The count of Neuperg, less prolix than any of those who had spoken before him, said, that he had offered the Turks all Servia, which comprehended Belgrade, provided this last place were demolished, the fortifications of which, such as they were, had never belonged to them; that he had added to it a part of Walachia, which it would be easy to limit; that if these sacrifices could not procure a peace, he declared he had exhausted his powers, and that he must return to his master to give him an account of the dispositions of the Porte, and obtain new instructions, if his Imperial majesty should be pleased to give him any. The reis effendi replied, that it would be better for the count to remain in the French ambassador's tent, and wait for the orders of his court. The

J.C. 1739.
Heg. 1152. two Christian ministers equally perceived the violence of this proceeding, but they would not say any thing about it in an open conference, well knowing that the Turks would not alter their conduct, and that they should only excite them to violate the law of nations more openly. But as soon as the meeting was over, the count of Nuperg went up to the druggerman of the Porte and that of France, and ordered them to say to the reis effendi in his presence, that he Neuperg, representing the emperor of the West, was incapable of yielding either to menace or force; that whatever lot they might prepare for him, he would rather die in the camp of the Turks serving his master and his country, than lose his head on a scaffold at Vienna for having betrayed both. He wished to have the druggerman of France hear that of the Porte render this speech to the reis effendi, in order to be sure that the sense was not altered by the translation. The assembly broke up without any thing being agreed on, every body being equally discontented.

The druggerman of the Porte, who was strongly interested in the peace, because his brother, the waywode of Moldavia, had been a great sufferer by this war, and was likely to suffer still more, ran, after the conference, into the tent of the marquis of Villeneuve; and as he painted to the mediator the embarrassment of the grand vizier, who could not give up his claim to Belgrade, the marquis

marquis replied, "Why does he not accept it J.C. 1739.
without fortifications? The Germans don't like ^{Heg. 1152.} —
that it should have cost them so much money
to furnish arms against themselves." The
druggerman having replied, that the Turks
would not believe they had Belgrade, if it were
surrendered to them without a single bastion;
this answer struck the marquis of Villeneuve with
an idea which he went instantly to communicate
to the count of Neuperg. "When you took
Belgrade in 1717," said he to him, "this place
had some old fortifications, can't you leave the
Turks these fortifications such as they then
were, and rase solely what you have added,
which has rendered Belgrade impregnable?"
"I have nothing of that kind in my instruc-
tion," replied the count; "but these old fort-
ifications are of so little value, that if Elias
bashaw will agree to it, in order that it may
not be said that Belgrade has been restored him
rased, I will consent to deliver him that place
in the state it was in 1717." The ambassador,
perceiving then some glimpse of hope, went with
this offer to the reis effendi, who at first rejected
it; but the next day this minister brought on a
fresh conference wherein the same points were dis-
cussed in the same manner as the day before, the
count of Neuperg insisting constantly on being
permitted to return to Belgrade. At length, the
reis effendi asked if it were possible to pull down
the new fortifications of Belgrade without hurting

J.C. 1739. the old ones, and if this demolition could be en-
Heg. 1152. tered upon in presence of the Ottoman army, or
if it must be deferred till after its retreat. On
this question being communicated to the German
minister, he desired permission to confer some
moments with the French ambassador, and they
retired together into a neighbouring tent. It was
agreed, that if the Turks accepted the condition,
the fortifications that were to remain, and those
which were to be pulled down, should be fixed
with every possible precision, and that measures
should be taken to begin the demolition before
the retreat of the Ottoman troops. This diffi-
culty being gotten over, the conference broke up
without any resolution appearing to be agreed to.
But the next day, the marquis of Villeneuve and
the count of Neuperg were invited to the grand
vizier's tent. The siege did not advance; not-
withstanding the valour of the troops, the Turks
lost a great many men; and the provisions which
came by the Danube gave reason to fear that it
would never be possible to take this place by force
which was offered the grand vizier by treaty.
He hoped the old fortifications which should be
preserved him by this treaty would make the
grand seignior, and especially the people of Con-
stantinople, believe, that he had not been deli-
vered a place dismantled. He agreed to the de-
molition of every thing that the Germans had
constructed since 1717; but Elias bashaw, so fond
of raising difficulties, discontented with the sac-
rifice

erifice which he was constrained to make, and of which he could not be easy for the consequences, started a thousand new questions on each of the points that had already been granted. The marquis of Villeneuve spoke several times in the name of his master, whose guarantee secured the execution of the treaty. At length, the patience of the count of Neuperg and the authority of the French ambassador remedied every thing. The two Christian ministers having repaired the first of September to the tent of Elias bashaw with a great retinue, the following conditions were read to them, which had been discussed all the preceding day, and drawn up during the night.

ARTICLE I.

" The fortress of Belgrade, which has been in
" the possession of the Imperialists since the year
" 1717, shall be evacuated and restored to the
" Ottoman empire with its ancient walls, the re-
" parations that they have received, and the
" works inseparately attached to them. The
" Ottoman empire shall be left likewise the pow-
" der magazines, arsenals, and barracks, with
" all the public and private buildings that are in
" the town. All the rest of the new fortifica-
" tions, walls, and fortlets, both of the castle
" and town, the covered way and glacis included,
" as likewise those which are opposite on the
" other side of the Danube and Save, shall be
" demolished, with this proviso, that no injury
" shall

J.C. 1739. " shall be done to any thing ceded to the Turks
Heg. 1152. " by this article.

ARTICLE II.

" The fortress of Sabach, called in Turkish
 " Bugukdelen, shall be likewise given up to the
 " Ottoman empire in the state it was formerly,
 " and under the conditions already stipulated with
 " respect to the fortress of Belgrade. All the
 " artillery, ammunition, provisions, and other
 " like things in the said fortresses of Belgrade
 " and Sabach, capable of being removed, in-
 " cluding the ships of war and other vessels on
 " the two rivers, belonging to his imperial and
 " catholic majesty, shall continue his property,
 " and, in exchange, the said places of Belgrade
 " and Sabach shall be confirmed to the Ottoman
 " Porte, as has been stipulated above.

ARTICLE III.

" His imperial and catholic majesty cedes to
 " the Ottoman Porte the province of Servia, in
 " which is the fortress of Belgrade. The two
 " rivers of the Danube and Save shall be the
 " limits of the provinces of the two empires;
 " and as to what respects Bosnia, the limits shall
 " be the same as they were by the treaty of
 " Carlowitz.

ARTICLE IV.

" His imperial and catholic majesty cedes to
 " the Ottoman Porte all Austrian Walachia,
 " comprehending therein the part of the moun-
 " tains; he leaves the latter likewise the fort of
 " Perischam

" Perischam which he has erected there, and J.C. 1739.
" which shall be demolished, the Turks not be- Heg. 1152.
" ing allowed to rebuild it.

ARTICLE V.

" The isle and fortress of Orsowa, as likewise
" fort Saint Elizabeth, shall be confirmed to the
" Ottoman empire in their present state. The
" bannat of Temeswar shall be confirmed in the
" same manner to his imperial and catholic ma-
" jesty as far as the confines of Austrian Wala-
" chia, except the little plain or tongue of land
" opposite the isle of Orsowa, and which is in-
" closed by the rivulet of Czerna, that comes
" from Meadia, by the Danube, by a rivulet that
" serves for confines to Austrian Walachia, and
" lastly by the first heights of the mountains of
" the said bannat, which are over against the
" island, in drawing a line from one rivulet to
" the other, and always at the same distance as
" that which is between the foot of the said
" heights and the Danube over against the
" island: which plain and tongue of land shall
" be confirmed to the Ottoman empire: it being
" nevertheless agreed, that, if the Turks should
" be able to turn aside all the rivulet of Czerna,
" so as to pass behind and close to the old Orsowa,
" in that case the said place of old Orsowa,
" without comprehending its territory, becom-
" ing contiguous to the tongue of land above
" described, shall be and belong to the Ottoman
" Porte, without nevertheless the Turks' being
" ever

J.C. 1739. " ever allowed to fortify that place ; and the
 Heg. 1152. " Ottoman Porte is granted for this purpose the
 " term of a year to turn aside the rivulet of
 " Czerna, beyond which time the Turks shall
 " lose all their right to the said place of old
 " Orsowa, which shall be confirmed to the em-
 " peror. The fortifications of Meadia, which
 " by the confines above-mentioned remains to
 " his imperial and catholic majesty, shall be
 " immediately destroyed by the Turks, his im-
 " perial majesty not being at liberty to repair
 " them, or those which are agreed on above,
 " to be demolished on the borders of the Da-
 " nube and the Save that remain to the emperor.

CONCLUSION.

" Five days after the signing of the present
 " preliminaries, the day of the signing not in-
 " cluded, the demolition shall be begun, which
 " shall be continued without intermission under
 " the eyes of the commissioners that the Ottoman
 " Porte shall appoint from each of the military
 " orders ; and every precaution shall be observed
 " in the demolition of the said fortifications, in
 " order that it may be done according to agree-
 " ment. It shall be finished in the time that
 " shall be agreed on, after having consulted with
 " the engineers ; and for surety of the said de-
 " molition, his imperial majesty shall give hos-
 " tages of a quality suitable, who shall come to
 " the grand vizier's camp five days after the sign-
 " ing of the preliminaries, at the same time as
 " the

" the Turkish commissioners shall enter the town, J.C. 1739.
Heg. 1152.
 " and who shall remain with the Turks 'till the
 " demolition shall be finished. After the fortifi-
 " cations shall be demolished which are near
 " Wurtemburg gate, the said gate shall be de-
 " livered to a vizier, who shall lodge with five
 " hundred men in the barracks of prince Alex-
 " ander, from whence to the ramparts a barrier
 " shall be drawn, which will separate this quar-
 " ter from the rest of the town, the communi-
 " cation of which shall be interdicted to the
 " Ottoman troops by guards that shall be placed
 " by both parties near the said barrier : the en-
 " trance of the town on the side beyond that not
 " being permitted but to the commander and of-
 " ficers of the said corps of five hundred men,
 " who shall not enter into the said town 'till the
 " demolition shall be entirely finished, and it be
 " thoroughly evacuated ; which shall likewise be
 " observed with regard to the castle, of which the
 " Ottoman troops will not be able to take posse-
 " sion 'till after the entire demolition of what is
 " to be destroyed, and the evacuation of what is
 " to be preserved.

" From the day of the signing of the present pre-
 " liminaries, all hostilities and exactions shall cease
 " on both sides ; and the slaves that may have been
 " made since the signing, though they should know
 " nothing of a treaty being concluded, shall be re-
 " ciprocally restored. It is moreover agreed, that
 " from the said day of the signing of the prelimi-
 " naries,

J.C. 1739. " naries, orders shall be given for withdrawing
Heg. 1152. " immediately all the Ottoman troops that are

" dispersed in the bannat of Temeswar, those excepted which shall be employed in rasing Meadia, who shall retire directly after the demolition of that place; and they shall be strictly charged not to exercise any violences in their retreat against the subjects of his imperial majesty.

" A full and entire pardon shall be granted the subjects who, in the course of the present war, may have taken part against their lawful sovereign, and namely the inhabitants of Meadia and the countries in the environs.

" Ten days after the signing of the present preliminaries, conferences shall be held to regulate such other points which may want it, and to settle a definitive treaty, the ratifications of which shall be exchanged afterward in the form used on like occasions.

" When these preliminaries, which are to serve as a basis to the treaty of peace between his imperial and catholic majesty and the Ottoman Porte, shall be accepted and signed, conferences shall immediately after be held, in like manner to endeavour to conclude a peace between the Ottoman Porte and her majesty of all the Russias, through the mediation of his excellency the French ambassador, mediator plenipotentiary from the said power.

" We William Reynard, count of Neuperg, chamberlain to his imperial and catholic ma-

" jesty,

“ jesty, general of foot, provisional governor of ^{J.C. 1739.}
 “ the dutchy of Luxemburg, the county of ^{Heg. 1152.}
 “ Chigni, and bannat of Temeswar, colonel of a
 “ regiment of foot, and plenipotentiary from his
 “ imperial and catholic majesty, in virtue of the
 “ full powers which we have received, and that
 “ have been communicated to the Ottoman Porte,
 “ declare to have accepted the above preliminary
 “ articles in the name of his imperial and catholic
 “ majesty, promising to procure the ratifications
 “ of them in good and due form. In witness
 “ whereof we have signed these presents with our
 “ hand, and sealed them with the seal of our arms.

“ We Lewis Sauveur, marquis of Villeneuve,
 “ counsellor of state, ambassador extraordinary
 “ and plenipotentiary from the emperor* of
 “ France, declare, that the above preliminary
 “ articles have been settled and agreed on be-
 “ tween the emperor of the Romans and the
 “ sublime Porte, under the mediation and gua-
 “ rantee of the emperor of France, and by our
 “ interposition in virtue of our full powers. In
 “ witness whereof we have signed these presents
 “ with our hand, and sealed them with the seal
 “ of our arms. At the camp of the grand vi-
 “ zier the 1st of September 1739.

A C T O F G U A R A N T E E.

“ The emperor of the Romans and the sublime
 “ Porte having agreed, by the mediation of the
 “ emperor of France, on the preliminary articles

* See vol. II. page 234.

J.C. 1739. ^{Heg. 1152.} " which are to serve as a basis to the definitive
 treaty that remains to be concluded between
 these two powers; both being equally desirous
 of preserving the public tranquillity, having
 heretofore requested the emperor of France to
 undertake to secure by his guarantee a work so
 salutary: We Lewis Sauveur, marquis of Ville-
 neuve, counsellor of state, ambassador ex-
 traordinary and plenipotentiary from the em-
 peror of France, in virtue of the full powers
 given us, dated the 19th of June 1738, have
 guarantied and do guaranty for the emperor of
 France the said preliminary articles concluded
 this day between the emperor of the Romans
 and the sublime Porte, as likewise all the con-
 ditions contained therein in the best form and
 manner that can be done. In witness whereof
 we have signed the present act with our hand,
 and caused the seal of our arms to be set there-
 to; and at the same time have given a copy
 of it to each of the contracting parties. At
 the camp of the grand vizier the 1st of Sep-
 tember 1739."

*Signing of
the preli-
minaries.*

The grand vizier signed the copy of these arti-
 cles written in Turkish, and gave it to the mar-
 quis of Villeneuve. The count of Neuperg
 signed the French copy which he delivered like-
 wise to the French ambassador, and this minister
 in his turn signed two copies of guarantee, which
 he gave to each of the two contracting parties.
 During this ceremony, which was to put an end

to

to the war, or at least to hostilities, the fire from J.C. 1739.
the besiegers and besieged was heard, which had ^{Heg. 1152.} ceased neither night nor day. The count of Neuperg wrote a note to the commander of Belgrade to inform him of the conclusion of the preliminaries, and to command him to open his gates. The grand vizier caused the suspension of arms to be instantly published in his army, and the fire ceased on both sides. The marquis of Villeneuve and the count of Neuperg were clothed each with a cloak of sable: caftans were distributed to their retinues. The grand vizier presented the French ambassador and the imperial minister with two horses in superb trappings, on which they mounted before him to return to their quarters in the same order that had been observed at their arrival; and the count of Neuperg returned in the afternoon to Belgrade, thoroughly persuaded that he had rendered a great service to the emperor, who afterward paid him badly for it. There yet remained to fix the time that should be allowed for demolishing the fortifications of the different places. It was agreed that this operation should be completed in three months; that in six weeks Wurtemburg gate should be delivered to the Ottoman garrison; that after the demolition of the town, that of the castle should be done, and then that of the fort which is over against Belgrade. This agreement was signed by general Schmettau, the emperor's commander in the place, by Ali bashaw, appointed by the Porte commander in
the

J.C. 1739.
Mug. 1152. the same town, and by the marquis of Villeneuve
and the count of Neuperg.

Treaty
with Rus-
sia.

The day after the signing of the preliminaries between the Turks and the Imperialists, Mr. Cagnoni, charged without any character with the affairs of Russia, put a power into the hands of the marquis of Villeneuve which authorised him to conclude a peace on condition of Asoph's being demolished. This was going about it very late; but, notwithstanding the mistrust which the Russians had shewn in their conduct, the marquis lost no time to serve them. The conference was entered on in the afternoon of the same day between the grand vizier, the subaltern ministers, Mr. Cagnoni, and the mediator. The Turks insisted that the spot where Asoph stood should remain waste and uninhabited, without hindering the two powers from fortifying some places on their respective frontiers, the Turks on the borders of the straits of Zabach towards Kuban to defend the navigation of the Black sea: the Russians in the vicinity of Circassia on the borders of the Don, to defend their country against the invasion of the Tartars. The slowness of the Russians had deprived them of the greatest advantage of the confederacy. Mr. Cagnoni had vainly endeavoured to prevail on the mediator not to consent to the ratification of the treaty between the two empires, 'till the conditions of peace should be likewise agreed on with Russia. The marquis of Villeneuve's instructions, both from Vienna and

Versailles,

Versailles, were to separate the two causes, and J.C. 1739.
only to appoint a limited time for Russia to ac- Heg. 1152.
cede to the treaty. The French ambassador
thought it would be for the general good to have
the two treaties agreed on and signed the same
day. He determined to exceed his powers, and
reserving to himself not to sign, either in the
name of the czarina, as plenipotentiary, or in the
name of the king of France, as mediator, but un-
der the express condition of the czarina's ratify-
ing what he should have done, on that condition,
which bound the Porte without binding the so-
vereign of Russia, the marquis consented not only
that Asoph should be destroyed, but likewise that
the land depending on that fortress should remain
waste between the two frontiers without belong-
ing either to Russia or the Ottoman empire, or
preventing either of the two parties from build-
ing new fortresses for the defence of their respec-
tive limits; that the little country, called Ca-
bardi, should remain free between the two em-
pires; that each nation might take hostages from
thence to answer for the conduct of the inhabi-
tants, without either's being able to execute the
least act of sovereignty there. The marquis of
Villeneuve stipulated likewise, agreeably to the
instructions which he had received, that the Rus-
sians should have no vessels on the Black sea, but
that they should carry on their commerce in ships
of other nations; that moreover the limits should
be the same as they had been before the war;
that

J.C. 1739. that commissioners should be named to mark
Heg. 1152. them out conformably to the ancient treaties; that the two nations should mutually restrain their feudatories; but that if the Turks punished the Cossacks for some enterprises, and the Russians repulsed the Tartars on like occasions, these acts of a just defence should not be considered as hostilities, and that the refractory subjects should be again punished by their sovereign paramount on the complaint of the offended power; that the prisoners should be restored on both sides, and the commerce re-established between the two nations as before the war. All the other articles are mere words. The ministers of the Porte made some difficulty of signing this treaty, because it bound them to Russia without binding Russia to them. It must be acknowledged that this difficulty was not without foundation; but the French ambassador made the grand vizier sensible, that the condition which he complained of had no other object than to satisfy the delicacy of him the mediator, who had really exceeded his powers; but he thought himself sure of getting the czarina's consent to a clause quite conformable to her intentions and advantageous for her crown, as it procured her a peace after her separation from the court of Vienna, such as she could have desired when the two powers were united. In order to prevail on the grand vizier to sign what every one desired, the mediator stipulated, that the treaty should not be exchanged 'till

till after the ratification of the czarina; and the period was fixed at three months. Since the 18th of September they had had time to prepare the treaty of Vienna also, which was signed and exchanged the same evening with all the solemnity usual on like occasions. The plenipotentiaries and the mediator were clothed with cloaks of state. Mr. Cagnoni had an ermine one given him. The day after this ceremony, the grand vizier and the mediator set out for Nissa, and the count of Neuperg for Belgrade, from whence he had come to complete his ministry.

However disadvantageous this peace might appear to be for the empire of the West, it might be thought indispensable and even fortunate with relation to circumstances. Charles VI. had not twenty thousand effective men to oppose against a hundred and sixty thousand Turks; and the former wars had so drained his coffers, that he had but few resources left to raise new troops. However, he resolved to appear dissatisfied with a treaty which deprived him of his strongest town. General Vallis and the count of Neuperg were both arrested and put on their trial: the one was accused of having badly conducted the war, the other of having betrayed his ministry in the negotiation. The emperor Charles VI. published a manifesto, in which he complained bitterly of his ministers; and though he would not explain himself clearly against the mediator, he gave to understand, that neither his intentions

J.C. 1739.
Heg. 1152.

Signing of
the definit-
ive treaty.

Marks of
discontent
at the trea-
ty of Bel-
grade.

J.C. 1739.
Heg. 1152.

nor the powers which he had given had been followed : he declared, that he had never understood that his plenipotentiary was to separate the cause of the empire from that of Russia, and that he had not given a power to give up Belgrade, which was in the very best state of defence. The marquis of Villeneuve, attacked indirectly in this manifesto, thought he ought to defend himself, and at the same time to defend the count of Neuperg, who was punished for having well served his country, in order to take from the imperial crown the sort of disgrace that might result from a disadvantageous peace. The French ambassador demonstrated in his memorial, that his and the German minister's proceeding with regard to the Russians was more advantageous for that crown than that prescribed them by their instructions, to fix a time for the czarina to accede to the treaty, since the peace of Russia had been concluded at the same time as that of the empire, and the abandoning of a piece of land almost a desert, which the Turks could not even take possession of, could not be of any real loss to the czarina. The marquis of Villeneuve asserted likewise, that neither he nor the count of Neuperg had exceeded his powers in giving up Belgrade demolished ; that they had not only fulfilled the intentions of the court of Vienna, but satisfied the impatience of its ministers, whose repeated dispatches were full of fear that Belgrade would be taken before the conclusion of the treaty, and remain fortified in

the

the hands of the Turks. Notwithstanding this <sup>J.C. 1739.
Heg. 1152.</sup> memorial, the trial of generals Vallis and Neuperg was continued, but with so much slowness, that it was easy to see that charges fell short against them. They remained in prison 'till the death of Charles VI., which happened a very short time after. One of the first acts of sovereignty done by the queen his daughter, was to set these generals at liberty, who could be reproached with nothing but having usefully served their country in unfortunate circumstances.

Before the grand vizier and the French ambassador were returned to Constantinople, the news arrived that general Munich had taken Choczin, and was advancing into Moldavia. Notwithstanding this success, Charles VI. who had complained so bitterly against the treaty, sent Mr. Monmars, secretary at war, with the ratification of it to Constantinople. This officer was solely charged to insinuate, that it would be right for the Turks not to think of raising the fortifications of Belgrade again. The Turks constantly refused to make any such engagement, and they demonstrated that it was necessary for the interest of both nations that powerful barriers should be established between them, in order to preserve a constant peace. Mr. Monmars did not insist on their complying, and the exchange of the ratifications was made at Constantinople with great solemnity the 5th of November the same year. The mediator waited with impatience for the ratification.

J.C. 1739.
Heg. 1152. from Russia, because he was afraid that the taking
 of Choczin and the progress made in Moldavia
 would render that nation more haughty. General
 Munich had written to the French ambassador in
 a manner to justify this apprehension; and he was
 told from the grand vizier every day, that if the
 ratification from Russia did not arrive soon, it
 would be necessary to think of making prepa-
 rations for the ensuing campaign; but the 21st of
 November, Mr. Wichniakoff, who had been mi-
 nister from Russia at the Porte, came with the so
 much wished for ratification, insisting only on the
 title of empress, which the czarina claimed, and
 some clauses for the ratification of the limits.
 The exchange of this ratification was made the
 28th, with the ceremonies observed on similar
 occasions between the two empires. The nomi-
 nation and departure of the commissioners to fix
 the limits were put off 'till the fine weather.

Ratifica-
tion of the
treaty with
Russia.

A decisive reason had caused this last exchange
 to be pressed. The two brothers sent from Swe-
 den were soliciting the Porte to conclude an al-
 liance offensive and defensive with their master;
 and the marquis of Villeneuve had received or-
 ders from his court to interest himself in their
 success. The grand vizier and the French am-
 bassador were afraid that, if it were proposed to
 introduce Sweden into the treaty which was going
 to be exchanged, the Russians, who were suspected
 of having an intention to arm against that nation,
 would refuse it. When the Swedish envoys went

to

to propose to the marquis of Villeneuve to make J.C. 1739.
but one treaty for the three nations, the French
ambassador replied, that it was impossible to in- Heg. 1152.
clude in a treaty of peace a power that had not been
at war with any one, and he pressed the ratifica-
tion between the Russians and Turks, lest his
work should not be completed; but still he did
not neglect to assist the Swedes all in his power,
and to fulfil the engagements which the king of
France had entered into with their master. The
ambassador made the ministers of the Porte sensi-
ble how much it was for their interest that Swe-
den should not be weakened, and that obstacles
should be thrown in the way of the projects of
the Russians, who seemed disposed to attack that
kingdom. He demonstrated to them that this
alliance, if it were only defensive, would render the
peace much more lasting, since neither the Russians
nor Swedes would dare infringe it the first.

In consequence of the insinuations of the mar- J.C. 1740.
quis of Villeneuve, who had acquired the confi- Heg. 1153.
dence of the divan to an uncommon degree, a
treaty of defensive alliance was signed with the
Swedes the 20th of January. The druggerman
of the Porte went to tell this ambassador from the
grand vizier, that his highness had determined to
conclude this treaty, only to oblige his faithful
friend the emperor of France. Russia appeared
displeased with a treaty made with a power that
it looked upon as an enemy, not only without
its participation, but even without being in-
formed

J.C. 1740. formed of the conditions. The ministers of the
 Hrg. 1153. Porte and the marquis of Villeneuve replied to their complaints, that the treaty with Sweden had been projected during the war, and that the Russians, who had allies, ought not to be surprised that the Swedes and Turks fought to unite their forces; that the two nations both promised them not to attack them.

Presents made by the diffe- rent powers to the me- diating ambassa- dor.

The pretended discontent of the czarina did not prevent her from offering the marquis of Villeneuve the Order of St. Andrew enriched with diamonds, and repeating to him the offer of thirty thousand ducats as an acknowledgment for the attention which he had paid to the mediation. The French ambassador constantly refused the thirty thousand ducats, and desired time to receive his master's orders as to the accepting or refusing of the Order of St. Andrew. The marquis was written to from Versailles, that the dignity of counsellor of state, with which the king had just honored him, was hardly compatible with a military Order, that moreover, his majesty did not choose to have foreign Orders too much multiplied in his kingdom. The empress of Russia's presents were converted into cloaks and other things of value; and Charles VI., who deferred sending an ambassador to the Porte, and still kept generals Vallis and Neuperg in prison, sent the mediator however his picture set round with diamonds, valued at three thousand guineas. The acknowledgment of the Porte was manifested in

in a manner not less honorable for the ambassador, J.C. 1740.
but much more useful for the nation. Heg. 1153.

Since the year 1673, when the treaties were renewed between France and the Porte, they had experienced several innovations through the avidity of the Turks and the variations of a government which changes its rulers too often. New imposts had crept in, which the foreign merchants chose rather to bear, than to interrupt their commerce or carry complaints at a great expence to the divan, which most commonly were not attended to. The marquis of Ville-neuve took advantage of his credit at the Porte to obtain justice in this respect, and some new privileges in favor of the merchants of his nation. The grand vizier, contented with the manner in which the peace had been concluded, because neither the people nor soldiers appeared to make any complaints, was very willing to give satisfaction to the French ambassador, whom he justly considered as the real author of this great work. The captain bashaw, whom this affair interested more than any of the other ministers, readily gave his consent; and, after a rather long discussion between these two ministers, the reis effendi, and the ambassador, the renewal of the treaties was agreed upon and signed. The marquis of Ville-neuve was admitted on this occasion for the third time to an audience of the grand seignior, and received a cloak of sable, as had been given him at the audience which he had obtained as mediator.

Renewal of
the treaties
between
France and
the Porte.

The

J.C. 1740.
Heg. 1153. The emperor Mahmout took no other part in these events than that which the ceremony of the Porte obliged him to. He displayed the pomp of the Ottoman court in the audiences. In other respects he left the government entirely to his ministers, without taking the pains even to choose those who acted in his name. The kislar aga, more taken up with the administration of the empire than the government of the haram, was unwilling to have a grand vizier continue long in place, lest he should assume too much authority. The valid sultaness and this eunuch would not let Elias Mehemet complete the treaty of peace, which he had almost conducted to its end. He had but just signed the treaties between France and the Porte, when the seals of the empire were taken from him and given to the caimacan Achmet. The settling of the limits, both with the emperor of the West and Russia, was done whilst this minister had the seals, after rather long discussions that the marquis of Villeneuve had the pleasure to terminate, and which neither the death of Charles VI. nor that of the czarina, which happened soon after, made any alteration in. Count Uhlefeld for the western empire, and Mr. Romansof for Russia, completed this great affair, which restored tranquility to the Ottoman empire for many years.

A

DISCOURSE

ON THE

NATURE OF THE FINANCES

AND

GOVERNMENT

OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

IN the course of my narration I have endeavoured as much as in my power to give an insight into the government of the Turks, their finances and military forces; but I presume it will not be improper to enter into some particulars that will throw a light on my recitals. I have found in the repository of foreign affairs an account written in 1678 by Mr. Degirardin, at that time ambassador from France to the Porte, by order of the marquis of Seignelay, secretary of state for the marine department. This work appears to me more exact and methodical than any thing I have read in a number of printed books on this subject. I observe in it, that the chief imposts, (those which the Turks believe authorised by the Alcoran, and of which the others have been only an extension,) are of four sorts, the Moukataatou, the Avaris, the Bachkaradg, and the Gdgelebkachan.

The Moukataatou is less an impost than the domain of the sword of Othman, the portion which the prince reserved for himself at the division of the conquests, of which, as has been seen in the course of this history, three lots were made, the first for the monarch, the second for the mosques, and the third for the troops. This last was divided into timars or military benefices which were distributed to the soldiers. The lands which belong to the prince in each of the provinces of the empire are farmed by the bashaws. Formerly, none but the spahis, who compose the principal cavalry of the empire, could hold these leases, and the imperial lands that were let to them became in their hands a sort of property, paying certain rents pretty much like estates in England let for a term of years. They passed to the son of the farmer, provided this son were also a spahi. But these successions preventing the increase of the prince's revenues, the first grand vizier Kiuperli ordered that these lands of the imperial domain should be given to the highest bidder at the death of each farmer, without distinction of persons. In this are likewise comprehended the maritime or frontier taxes, the confiscations, which are very frequent and very profitable for the public treasury, and the property of those who die without heirs; for in Turkey people don't inherit from their brother or uncles but by leave of the prince, who generally divides the collateral successions, allowing but a small part

of

of the property to the relations. Dismemberings of the Moukataatou, that is to say, portions of the imperial lands, are often given to the valid sultanesses or favorites, and sometimes even to viziers. Then these occupiers enjoy all the rights and privileges belonging to those lands the same as the prince, except custom houses duties, which are never taken from the public treasury.

The second object of revenue is an impost called Avaris, which may be compared to our Land tax, and is collected indiscriminately from all the lands, situated in the domains of the emperor, in those of the mosques, or in the timars. The occupiers are liable to the Avaris, conformably to a certain rate, whether in the country or in the towns, by whatever title they may hold their estates. The princes have reserved this universal right, which they always collect entirely, though the farmers should desert their estates: the neighbours then divide the burden among them 'till the deserted tenement has been granted to another farmer, or been divided among those who pay the Avaris of it. This impost is the least subject to variation.

The third impost, which is spoken of the oftener in the Alcoran, is the Bachkaradg, a sort of poll tax paid by all those whom the Mussulmen call Giaurs or Infidels, Roman catholics, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and others. It consists in three, four, or five, of our half crowns a head, according to the ability and the religions. The

Roman catholics and Jews pay more than the Greeks. As there are a great number of the grand seignior's subjects who have retained the religion of their ancestors from generation to generation, this impost produces a great deal; but it diminishes every day, because, though the Alcoran forbids the persecuting of the Giaurs, and enjoins solely to make them pay tribute, the predominant religion must in the long run absorb all the others in a country where people cannot attain to any employ, nor pretend to any consideration, without being Mussulmen.

The Turks are not cruel in religious matters, except to those who relapse, or have feigned to become Mussulmen through particular considerations, and whom they have convicted of being returned to their ancient worship. These are put to death without mercy; all the other Giaurs live in peace throughout the dominions of the grand seignior, paying the Bachkaradg over and above the other imposts. But as commerce and industry, which enrich a great number of them, expose them to the envy and hatred of the Mussulmen, they have found means to increase this tax. Besides the Bachkaradg paid by those who have a fixed place of residence, the ministers of the Porte have contrived to lay another tax on those who, not being settled, go from place to place on account of their commerce, in order, as they say, that none of these Giaurs may escape the impost to which the great prophet has condemned them all,

as a punishment for their blindness. For this purpose, the collectors of the Bachkaradg have a right to demand the value of ten shillings sterling from every Giaur, wherever they meet him, unless he produce a receipt which proves that he has paid it for that year. This receipt is written on paper either green, red, blue, or some other colour, which is changed every year; and those, who are settled and have paid this tax in the place of their residence, if they leave it but for a day, are not excused from paying a second time to obtain this paper, without which they would be imprisoned at the first place that they should arrive at.

The fourth impost is called Gdgelebkachan; it has for object the carrying of commodities and other necessary effects, whether for the journeys of the sultans or the march of the troops. The necessity or avarice of the emperors or their ministers has made this impost like the Giaurs' poll-tax. At first it consisted in waggons, which the inhabitants of the places through which the prince or the troops passed were obliged to furnish in kind. As this service was very heavy for some and absolutely cost nothing to others, a principle of justice induced the great Solyman to convert it into money, in order that all the subjects might support equally the burden of war. It was collected at different times, in order, as it was said, that it might be less and not so much felt. But in the wars that happened afterward, waggons were

were still pressed though the impost was regularly collected. This heavy charge has been redeemed as often as three times in a century. Such an exaction has not a little contributed to the troubles that have been seen in the course of this history.

The Turkish emperors have advantageously profited by the text of the Alcoran, which established a representative of God on earth to govern mankind at his will, and by the supreme power attributed to him ; but they have not always efficaciously eluded another text, which forbids loading the true Believers with heavy taxes. The frequent revolutions occasioned at Constantinople by the abuse of power, are without doubt what has led the count of Marsigli into an error. He thought that soldiers, who deposed their emperor, had another right to do it than that of force and the natural sentiment which revolts against tyranny. I can venture to assert that there is no law in Turkey which limits the power of the emperor. The Turks have no other written law than the Alcoran and Sunna. The Alcoran is the collection of the chapters which Mahomet pretended were sent from Heaven for the instruction of Mussulmen ; the Sunna is a relation of the principal actions of his life, collected by those who were witnesses of them. Neither of these books can contain principles of democracy. Mahomet, who made himself pontiff and prophet to collect into his own hands every species of power, had

had certainly no intention to furnish the people with arms against himself.

But to return to the finances, Mr. Degirardin and the count of Marsigli agree very near on the product of the four imposts of which I have just given an account. They make them amount to about one million five hundred forty-one thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds sterling. The products of Egypt and the province of Bagdad are not reckoned in this account, which form two separate states, exempt from the common imposts, under the authority of two bashaws, who govern them in the same manner as they were before they were conquered. These two states pay the Porte a tribute in natural productions, such as flax, coffee, sugar, rice, lentils; they entertain all the troops employed in their defence, support the whole expence of their administration, and, besides the commodities just mentioned, send the Porte a tribute in money of fifty-eight thousand three hundred and thirty-three pounds sterling for Egypt, and forty-one thousand six hundred and sixty-six for Bagdad.

This product, which I don't believe much increased since 1687, does not give a very high idea of the riches of the Ottoman empire; but this is far from being all its resources. Neither the funds nor revenues of the mosques, which, as we have said, are the thirds of the conquests, are given up to the ulema (it is thus they call the body of ministers of the religion). When those

who

who serve the mosques, or who fill the places of cadiis, have received a salary, which is fixed, the remains of the revenues, saved under the inspection of the kislar aga, or chief of the black eunuchs, are deposited in a treasury, and are not permitted to be touched but for wars of religion. But all the wars are counted religious, as they cannot be but against the Persians, who are Aliians, or Heretics with regard to the Turks, or against Christians, or rebel subjects, and all rebellion is termed sacrilege. Thus the property of the mosques is applied to the easing of the burden of the state. The territory of the mosques does not produce as much to the state as that which belongs to the emperor, because those, who pay a rent for the portion of land which they hold of a mosque, never see it go out of their hands. They transmit this possession to their posterity, who pay the same rent, and these lands return to the mosques, only when the possessors leave no children. Then the family to which this tenement is granted anew, pays a sum of money for it, besides the annual rent, which is often increased.

The third portion of the conquests, which was divided between the soldiers, and of which timars or military benefices have been made, is likewise a considerable ease for the state, because these possessors of timars, called timarians, are obliged to entertain a number of troopers at their expence, proportionable to the value of the lands which they possess. I have said in the course of this

this history that these benefices are revocable at pleasure, though hereditary. They pass indeed to the eldest son, when there is but one timar. When there are several, the children divide them between them by as many heads as there are timars. But the emperor, or even the bashaws in his name, can take them away without giving any reason for so doing, whether from those to whom they have been given, or their posterity. It is not so with the lands that the grand seignior has been pleased to grant in the territory belonging to the sword of Othman, nor those which are situated in the portion of the mosques. These always go to the children unless the property of their father is confiscated. But in all cases, a great part of the chattels of the officers of the Porte who die in some place is seized by the grand seignior, who leaves the children just what he pleases of the furniture or money which their father is looked upon to have acquired in the service of the Porte. This is what has made several travellers say, that the Ottoman emperor is the sole proprietor in his empire, and the heir of all his subjects. It is very certain however that he can put to death or strip of all his property whomsoever he shall think fit to punish, without the form of a trial or even his crime being known.

The members of the ulema, called effendis, or men of the law, who serve the mosques in quality of imans, or who administer justice as cadis,

according to the words of the Alcoran, cannot be put to death ; but the grand seignior finds means to elude this law, which may be considered as fundamental, since it is written in plain and express terms, by giving the effendi a superior place in the divan, which removes him out of the ulema, and consequently deprives him of his privilege.

I have read in the writings of several travellers, that the mufti or chief of the ulema, and all his effendis, are liable to be put to death in one manner only, which is, pounding them in a mortar. I have not observed any trace of this barbarity in all the course of the Turkish history, nor seen any thing in the Alcoran that could give credit to this opinion.* The administration of justice, as well as of divine worship, belong entirely to the ulema ; this gives that body considerable power. But as the Turkish government is entirely military, and the finances as well as the troops are in the hands of bashaws and sangiacs, officers that compose the divan, and even the prince's council, when they have reached the dignity of viziers, that is to say, bashaws of the first order, the ministers of the Alcoran have no other authority than to determine controversies between private persons. The mufti, or chief of the ulema, is certainly the person most venerated

next

* We find, however, that Othman II. threatened twenty of the ulema, who waited on him to make remonstrances, to have them executed in this manner. See vol. II. page 349. T. -

next to the grand seignior, but is far from being the most powerful. Indeed the emperor undertakes nothing considerable without the mufti's having given his fetva (they call so an opinion founded on some text of the Alcoran); but when this fetva is not favorable, the chief of the law is deposed, with more ease even than a vizier would be; which often renders these pontiffs very complaisant and attentive to make the Alcoran bend to the will of their master.

To avoid tautology, I have not mentioned the Ottoman soldiery. We have seen in the course of this history that it consists in the first place of timarians or holders of military benefices, who are obliged to entertain at their expence, and to conduct to the army or on the frontiers, in case of necessity, a number of troopers, in proportion to the value of their timars. We have seen the spahis, a cavalry better disciplined and more constantly assembled together, paid out of the public treasury, contribute greatly to the numerous conquests which the emperors have made. We have seen the institution, the force, the success, the discipline, or the undiscipline, of that formidable infantry called janissaries. We have seen two corps less considerable, the jebeggis and topggis, assist the janissaries to enlarge the bounds of the empire, and make tremble, even depose or imprison, him whom all the Ottomans consider as the most powerful of mortals. We have seen, in the course of the different wars, other troops

gathered together, who serve in the moment of necessity only, and who might be compared to the coast-guards and arriere-ban in France, though there is no nobility in Turkey. These soldiers fight on horseback or on foot, according to circumstances. They are sometimes called asaps, sometimes zegbands: they are raised and paid rather badly by the bashaws, who have very often made an ill use of these forces, and stirred up the provinces, and who, in the foreign wars, have sacrificed a number of asaps or zegbands, whom the Mussulman religion and the system of predestination had made valiant, but whose perfect ignorance of military discipline and little acquaintance with war rendered not very formidable. For fear of abusing the attention of my readers, I suppress the other details, and excuse myself from placing here under their eyes what they have already seen in the course of this history.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

I N D E X

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TO THE FOUR VOLUMES;

In which will be found

An Explanation of several Turkish Words

Made use of in the course of this work.

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- Ibrahim*, bashaw of Aleppo, raises an insurrection, III. 164; is killed, 169.
- Ibrahim Molla*, grand vizier, IV. 204; is strangled, 206.
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- Iconia*, conquered by the Turks, I. 6.
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- John Sobieski*, king of Poland, his exploits, III. 222, 242, 255, 263, 271, 301, 313; elected king of Poland, 263; goes to the succour of Vienna, 312.
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- John (don)*, of Austria, gains the battle of Lepanto, II. 162; reduces Tunis, 179.
- Jebeeggis*, armourers.
- Jesid*, caliph, I. xxxix, xlvi.
- Jiefik Achmet*, see *Acomat*.
- Illock*, taken by the imperialists, III. 372.
- Iman*, a Mahometan priest.
- Imaret*, a hospital.
- Imposts*, dangerous laying of them on in Turkey, IV. 307. See *Finances*.
- Jousef*, captain bashaw, III. 96, 109; is strangled, 113.
- Jousef*, revolts, II. 270; is strangled, 276.
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- Isabella*, the widow of John Zapoli, is behaved treacherously to by Solyman I., II. 8, 9; cedes Transylvania to Ferdinand, 26; redemands it, 62.
- Ishmael*, king of Persia, his wars with the Turks, I. 249, 251; embraces the sect of Ali with his subjects, 229.
- Islamism*, the Mahometan religion; the word signifies, *the true faith*.
- Ispahan* (the siege of), IV. 262.
- Iodore*, cardinal legate, saves himself from captivity at the taking of Constantinople, I. 138.
- Ivan*, waywode of Moldavia, II. 174.
- Judges*, all of them ecclesiastics in Turkey, I. 27.
- Justice*, how administered in Turkey, I. 12, 321; IV. 248.
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Kemini, prince of Transylvania, III. 178.

Kiaia, a lieutenant, or rather assistant, to some officer, civil or military.

Kiaia beg, the lieutenant of the aga of the janissaries.

Kilbournow, taken by the Russians, IV. 367; abandoned, 375.

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Kislar aga, chief of the black eunuchs.

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Korcut, brother to Selim I., revolted, and is killed, I. 246.

Korefski, prisoner in Turkey, II. 296; makes his escape, 321.

Kulkiaia udasi, lieutenant-general of the janissaries.

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Lacerda (chevalier *John*), at the siege of Malta, II. 83, 93.

Ladislaus, king of Hungary, breaks his oath and is killed at the battle of Varna, I. 99, 100.

Labaye (Messrs.), ambassadors at the Porte, are ill used there, III. 156, 164.

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Laschi, a partisan of John Zapolii, I. 342; goes over to the party of Ferdinand, II. 6.

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Lubomistki, defends Poland against the Turks, II. 340.
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- Mansfeld* (count), commands in Hungary, and there dies, II. 221.
- Manuel Paleologus*, I. 31, 42, 55, 78, 81, 88; dies, *ibid.*
- Marcheville* (the marquis of), ambassador from France to the Porte, his haughty conduct causes him to be sent home by the Turks, III. 43.
- Marriage*, of the grand seignior's daughters, I. 334; II. 300; III. 109, 265.
- Marfillac*, at the siege of Belgrade, IV. 235.
- Martinengue*, an engineer at the siege of Rhodes, I. 293, 294.
- Martinuzzi* (George), preceptor to the king of Hungary, II. 6, 26; is assassinated, 27.
- Masched*, a town venerated by the Persians, IV. 297.
- Masli*, revolts, and is strangled, II. 270, 276.
- Masquita*, defends the City-nobles, II. 108.
- Matthias* (archduke), commands in Hungary, II. 210, 221, 253.
- Mauro* (St.), taken by the Venetians, III. 335.
- Mauro Cordato*, negotiates a peace for the Turks, III. 373; IV. 9, 12, 61; escapes the fury of the malecontents, 92; (prince of Walachia), is taken prisoner by the Imperialists, IV. 232.
- Maximilian*, elected king of Hungary, II. 63.
- Mazepa*, his death, IV. 125.
- Mazul*, one who is turned out of place and reduced to the lowest state.
- Mecca* (the pilgrimage to), I. xviii.
- Medina*, at the siege of Malta, II. 91, 103.
- Medran*, at the siege of Malta, II. 88.
- Medress*, a public school.
- Mebemet*, grand vizier, his good administration, II. 125, 129; dies, 193.
- Mehemet*, grand vizier, II. 300; obliges the Persians to make peace, and dies, 332.
- Mehemet*, goes to Persia to command the Ottoman army there, III. 56; is deposed, 59.
- Mehemet*, grand vizier, III. 96; gets himself disliked by the janissaries, 117; is strangled, 122.
- Mehemet*, grand vizier, IV. 107; is deposed, 112; is recalled, 133; hems in Peter the Great on the Pruth, 138; is banished to the isle of Lemnos, 154.
- Mehemet effendi*, ambassador to France, IV. 253.
- Mehemet*, grand vizier, deposed, IV. 326, 335.
- Menetou* (chevalier), at the siege of Rhodes, I. 297.
- Mercaur* (the duke of), commands in Hungary, II. 236; dies, 253.
- Mervan* I., caliph, I. xlvi.
- Mervan* II., caliph, I. xlix.
- Mesembria*, taken by the Turks, I. 91.
- Metoupchi*, first clerk for foreign affairs.
- Mezzomerto*, captain bashaw, IV. 30, 32; dies, 97.
- Michael Viecnoviecki*, king of Poland, III. 239; consents to pay a tribute to the sultan, 248; dies, 259.
- Mimbar*, a throne.
- Mir Mamout*, usurps the throne of Persia, III. 258; his frenzy and death, 282.
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- Mocenigo*, concludes a treaty with the Turks, II. 169.
- Mocenigo*, killed in an engagement, III. 154.
- Mozader*, caliph, is deposed, I. lxiii, lxv.
- Modon*, taken by the Turks, I. 221.
- Mobatz* (battles of), I. 331; III. 356.
- Moisins*, those who call to prayer.
- Mokanna*, a pretended prophet, I. liv.
- Moldavia*, tributary to the Porte, I. 348. See *Cantimir*, Petrecseius, Peter.
- Mollabs*, judges in the great towns.
- Mongats*, taken by the Imperialists, III. 373.
- Money*, the Mahometans cause some to be struck, I. xvii; the Ottomans do the same, 10; changing its value like to raise a rebellion, III. 223.
- Montbrun*, at the siege of Candia, III. 218.
- Montecuculli*, commands in Hungary, III. 182; gains the battle of St. Godard, 195.
- Montfort* (chevalier), at the siege of Tripoli, II. 45.
- Moors*, driven out of Granada, II. 136.
- Morea*, taken by the Venetians, III. 345, 356; by the Turks, IV. 220.
- Morgat* (*Gregory*), at the siege of Rhodes, I. 297.
- Morla*, enemies of the Turks, III. 344.
- Morofini*, capitulates in Candia, III. 218, 229; his conquests from the Turks, 335, 343, 353, 356; is made doge of Venice, 378.
- Moslem*, is strangled, I. li, lli.
- Mosques*, Mahometan temples; Achmet I. builds a very magnificent one, II. 286; what is done with the revenues of them, I. 323.
- Motamasem*, caliph, has a guard of foreigners, I. lxii.
- Mufti*, the Mahometan pope or chief of the religion, I. 263, 336; II. 245; dismissal of one, 242; of opposite parties issue fetfas against each other, II. 246; IV. 86; one strangled, III. 25.
- Muley Hascen*, king of Tunis, I. 365, 367.
- Munes*, his conquests, I. lxiv; deposes the caliph, lxv; is killed, lxvi.
- Murad*, grand vizier, II. 258, 270, 275, 276; resigns the seals, and dies, 284.
- Murad*, elected grand vizier by the malecontents, III. 119; causes the emperor Ibrahim to be strangled, 128; is strangled himself, 131.
- Musa*, caliph, I. lvii.
- Musa*, dethrones his brother Soliman, I. 60, 62; his conquests, 63; is dethroned and killed, 66.
- Musalmis*, officers of the spahis.
- Mustapha I.*, his incapacity, II. 320; is deposed, 325; proclaimed anew, 356; deposed, 375.
- Mustapha II.*, governs by himself, IV. 26; commands the army, 32, 42; loses the esteem of his subjects, 70; is dethroned, 94; dies, 95.
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Mustapha, the son of Mahomet II., is strangled, I. 169.

Mustapha, the son of Solymen I., loses his life through the intrigues of Roxalana, II. 53.

Mustapha Kirlou, grand vizier, takes Belgrade, I. 287; lays siege to Rhodes, 299; is deposed, 303; put to death, 327.

Mustapha, raises the siege of Malta, II. 112; takes the isle of Cyprus, 154; is disgraced, 159; sent to command against the Persians, 193; is disgraced, *ibid.*

Mustapha, grand vizier, III. 68; is strangled, 96.

Mustapha, grand vizier, III. 371; is deposed, 380.

Mustapha (the pretended prince), I. 73, 78, 81, 86; a second impostor of the same name, II. 58.

Mussulman, one of the religion of Mahomet.

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Nadasti, his soldiers capitulate at Buda without him, I. 345.

Nadasti (count), is beheaded, III. 240, 294.

Nadir, *see* Thamas Kouli-khan.

Nakib, the chief of the emirs.

Napoli-di-Romania, taken by the Venetians, III. 353.

Napoli-di-Malvasia, III. 391, 392.

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Navailles, at the siege of Candia, III. 218.

Navarrin, taken by the Venetians, III. 353.

Negropont, taken by the Turks, I. 165.

Neubaufel, taken by the Turks, II. 262; III. 183; (battle of), 340.

Neuperg, plenipotentiary at the peace of Belgrade, IV. 381; is arrested by order of the emperor of the West his master, 401; is again set at liberty, 403.

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Nice, taken by Orcan, I. 12.

Nicomedia, taken by Orcan, I. 11.

Nicopoli (the battle of), I. 41.

Nicosia, taken by the Turks, II. 143.

Niemmirowa (conferences at), IV. 367.

Nissa, taken by the Turks, III. 377, 389.

Nischangi, secretary of state.

Nitra, taken by the Turks, III. 191.

Noailles, *see* Denoailles.

Nointel, *see* Denointel.

Notaras, his misfortunes at the taking of Constantinople, I. 134, 141.

Novograd, taken, I. 346; II. 210; III. 106, 191, 341.

O

Oczacow, taken by the Russians, IV. 367; who abandon it, 375.

Oda, a chamber; also a company of soldiers.

Odalisk, a girl of the haram who has no particular apartment but sleeps in the common rooms.

Oda pachi, the commanding officer in an oda or room full of soldiers; or a captain in the janissaries.

Omar, caliph, orders the Alexandrian library to be burnt, I. xxvi.

Ommiavians, a family of caliphs, I. xxxii; are deprived of the califate, lii.

Oran, besieged by the Turks, II. 74.

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Orjouwa, taken, III. 377, 391; IV. 374; restored to the emperor of the West, 391.

Ortađami, the mosque of the janissaries.

Osein, disputes the califate, I. xxxix.

Otebiali, at the battle of Lepanto, II. 163; captain bashaw, 167.

Otbman, caliph, is killed, I. xxix.

Otbman I., the founder of a people of Turks who take the name of Ottomans, I. 3; cause of the people's respect for him and his family, I. 8, 9; his conquests, 6; death, 9.

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Paget, the English ambassador, mediator at the peace of Carlowitz, IV. 64.

Pak, the Lithuanian general, III. 257, 264.

Paleologus (Mischa), a renegade, at the siege of Rhodes, I. 173; concludes a treaty of peace with the knights, 199.

Palfi (count), IV. 228.

Panajot, histreavery to get Candia to capitulate, III. 228.

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Patkul, his fatal death, IV. 125.

Patmos, taken by the Turks, II. 2.

Patras, surrenders to the Venetians, III. 356.

Patrona Calil, dethrones Achmet III., IV. 310; makes an ill use of his power, 328; is put to death, 332.

Paulin (Anthony), a captain in the service of the French king, II. 15.

Pennon de Velez, taken by the Spaniards, II. 74.

Percligia, a pretended prophet, is put to death, I. 72.

Persians, their hatred of the Ottomans, I. 167, 168, 228, 232; their jealousy of their wives, II. 195; their manner of defending their country against the Turks, I. 150; their wars with them, 353; II. 24, 191, 248, 315; III. 21, 76; IV. 356; their forces and government, II. 190; civil war among them, IV. 256.

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Peter, the Great, takes Afosph,

IV. 38; defeats Charles XII., 113; lets himself be surrounded near the Pruth, 141; his conquests in Persia, 264; dies, 288.

Peter, waywode of Moldavia, II. 174.

Peterwaradin, taken, I. 329; III. 372; (battle of), IV. 228.

Petrecseius, prince of Moldavia, III. 256.

Phera, taken by the Turks, I. 25.

Pbilip, count Palatine, defends Vienna, I. 347.

Phoecea, a town belonging to the Genoese, I. 84.

Piali, captain bashaw, II. 81; is disgraced, 159.

Picolomini, commands in Hungary, III. 378.

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Polastron, killed at the siege of Malta, II. 104.

Pommerolles (Gabriel), at the siege of Rhodes, I. 295.

Poniatorwski, services which he does Charles XII., IV. 119.

Pons (the prince of), at the siege of Belgrade, IV. 235.

Porte, the court of the emperor of the Turks.

Portocarrero, killed at the Golletta, II. 181.

Prefburg, taken by the Turks, II. 262.

Preveza, taken by the Venetians, III. 335.

Princesses of the Ottoman blood, see emperors of the Ottomans.

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Quincy, at the siege of Malta, II. 103.

R

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Radiouiski, ambassador from Poland to the Porte, ill-received, dies of rage, III. 220.

Ragotski, prince of Transylvania, III. 48, 53.

Ragotski (George), dies of his wounds, III. 178.

Ragotski, chief of the Hungarian malecontents, IV. 111, 364; dies, 374.

Ramanouski, defends the Cossacks against the Turks, III. 284.

Ramazan, the Mahometan lent.

Rami, grand vizier, makes his escape from the fury of the malecontents, IV. 91.

Redai (Francis), elected prince of Transylvania, III. 172.

Regeb, grand vizier, III. 32; is strangled, 39.

Regel, mufti, causes the emperor Ibrahim to be deposed, III. 117; and the grand vizier Murad to be put to death, 131.

Reggio, taken by Barbarossa, II. 18.

Rejeb, commands in Hungary, III. 377; is strangled, *ibid.*

Reis effendi, secretary of state who has charge of the privy seal of the empire.

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- Revan*, taken, III. 51, 55, 76.
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Rhodes, taken by the knights of St. John, I. 148; who defend it against the Turks, 174; obliged to give it up to them, 314.
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Rinçon, the French ambassador, assassinated, II. 15.
Rocas (Arnalda), prefers death to captivity among the Turks, II. 144.
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Rodolph, emperor of the West, at war with the Turks, II. 204; concludes a peace, 263.
Rogendorf, commands in Hungary, II. 7.
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Ruis (chevalier), at the siege of Malta, II. 103.
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Rustan, grand vizier, deposed, II. 51, 62.
Rustan, measures which he takes to save himself from being put to death, IV. 340.
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- Sebatai Sevi* gives himself out for the Messiah, III. 207.
Sacrifices, among the Mahometans, I. xviii.
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Saint-Pol, at the siege of Candia, III. 218.
- Salanakem* (battle of), IV. 8.
Saliouk, taken by the Turks, I. 329.
Salm (count), commands in Hungary, II. 118.
Sancy, ambassador from France to the Porte, insulted, II. 321, 328.
Sangiac, a governor of a town.
Santon, a Mahometan monk.
Sarai, mistress to Achmet III., IV. 105; favors Charles XII., 122.
Sarbelloni, killed at Tunis, II. 181.
Sarkioi, taken by the Turks, III. 388.
Sarnat, taken by the Venetians, III. 345.
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Scheitankuli, confirms the Persians in the sect of Ali, I. 225, 228.
Scherfemberg, commands in Hungary, III. 353.
Scherif, the first iman in a great mosque.
Shirvan, tributary to the Porte, II. 286.
Sciaus, grand vizier, commands in Hungary, is deposed, II. 210, 222.
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Sciaus, revolts, III. 358; is elected grand vizier by the army, 359; is killed, 368.
Scinski (Erneft), ambassador from Hungary, II. 62.
Scinta, besieged by the Turks, III. 191.
Scio, loses its privileges, II. 117; taken, IV. 21, 30.
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- Sciro* (the isle of), taken by the Turks, II. 2.
- Scrivan*, revolts and again returns to his allegiance, II. 237, 254.
- Sebastie*, see Siwas.
- Sebenico*, ceded to the Turks, II. 171.
- Seckendorf*, beaten by the Turks, IV. 396.
- Segedin*, surrenders to the Imperialists, III. 353.
- Selictar aga*, the sword bearer.
- Selim I.* rebels against his father, I. 235, 239; has his brothers put to death, 246; his cruelty, 258, 277, 280; goes to war with Persia, 249, 259; conquers Egypt, 266; dies, 284.
- Selim II.* defeats the army of Bajazet, II. 66, 67; escapes the poison which his brother had intended for him, 64; ascends the throne, 127; takes to drinking, *ibid*; concludes a peace with the emperor of the West, 131; is going to have the Christians massacred, 164; dies, 183.
- Semendriab*, taken by storm, I. 97; (battle of), 63; taken by the Turks, 390.
- Senberekchi bakchi*, superintendent of the engines.
- Senona*, taken by Solyman I., II. 20.
- Sepulchre* (the Holy), given up to the Roman catholics, IV. 252.
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E R R A T A.

In Vol. IV.

- Page 41, line 19. For *effors*, read *efforts*.
 84, line 18. For *made*, read *they made*.
 93, line 12 13. For *magnicent*, read *magnificent*.
 135, line 14. For *belive*, read *believe*.
ibid, line 18. For *violaters*, read *violators*.
 170, line the last. For *avari*, read *Savary*.
 212, in the margin. For $\begin{cases} 1713 \\ 1125 \end{cases}$ read $\begin{cases} 1714 \\ 1126 \end{cases}$.
 215, line 20. For *perswaded*, read *persuaded*.
 219, line 12. For *with*, read *upon*.
 241, line 30. For *coverous*, read *covetous*.
 264, in the margin. For 1145, read 1135.
 272, towards the bottom of the margin. For 1723, read 1724.
 273, in the margin. For 1131, read 1136.
 309, line 24. For *murmurs*, read *murmuring*.
 311, line 18. For *encreased*, read *increased*.
 313, line 23. Put a comma after *Patrona*.
 352, in the margin. For $\begin{cases} 1732 \\ 1144 \\ & 1145 \end{cases}$ read $\begin{cases} 1733 \\ 1145 \\ & 1146 \end{cases}$.
 371, line 23. For *disadvantageous*, read *advantageous*.
 414, line 8-9. For *established*, read *establisches*.

In Vol. I.

- Page 15, line 18. For *constructors*, read *shipwrights*.
 21, line 14. For *reclaimed*, read *solicited*.
 39, line 4. For *counds*, read *crowds*.
 54, line 9. } For *as much*, read *the*.
 242, line 20. } For *as much*, read *the*.
 56, line 2 from the bottom. For *voluntary*, read *voluntarily*.
 66, line 20. For *reclaim*, read *claim*.
 81, line 20-21. For *reclaimed*, read *claimed*.
 82, line 1. For *him-*, read *himself*.
 87, line 1-2. } For *legitimate*, read *lawful*.
 96, line 17. } For *legitimate*, read *lawful*.
 112, line 23.
 252, line 14. } After *conveys*, add *of provisions and ammunition*.
 295, line 13. }
 310, line 10. }
 146, line 18. Dele *a* at the end of the line.
 170, line 4. For *suden*, read *sudden*.
 175, line 22. For *tolerable*, read *tolerably*.
 176, line 26. For *on*, read *in*.
 181, line 27. For *entrusted*, read *intrusted*.
 228, line 2. For *crowd*, read *crowd*.
 250, line 1. For *mastiffs*, read *dogs*.
 284, line 3. For *encrease*, read *increase*.
 299, line 2. For *were*, read *were*.
 311, line 15. For *encreased*, read *increased*.
 350, in the margin. For 1520, read 1530.
 375, line 10. For *Agustin*, read *Augustin*.

[For the rest of the errata, see the end of the first volume.]

10

In Vol. II.

- Page 4, line 13. For *were more*, read *were the more*.
32, line 25. For *bod*, read *bad*
36, in the margin. For 1581, read 1551.
62, line 22. For *reclaimed*, read *redemanded*.
128, line 5. For *at time*, read *at that time*.
138, line 4. For *legitimate*, read *lawful*.
156, in the margin. For 978, read 979.
162, in the margin. For 1579. } read 1571. }
971. } 979.
177, line 20. For *poinard*, read *poniard*.
179, line 7. For *reclaim*, read *claim*.
243, line 12. } For *ascendancy*, read *ascendency*.
249, line 23. }
252, in the margin. For 1000, read 1010.
254, in the margin. For *biself*, read *himself*.
270, line 18. For *as more*, read *as the more*.
289, line 26. For *as much*, read *the*.
299, line 24. For *reclaimed*, read *redemanded*.
300, in the margin. For 1612, read 1613.
324, in the margin. For 1026, read 1027.

[For the rest of the errata, see the end of the second volume.]

In Vol. III.

- Page 14, line 5. For *intice*, read *entice*.
15, line 11. }
16, line 5. } For *negociation*, read *negotiation*.
240, line 23. }
48, in the margin. For *waywode of Ragotzki*, read *waywode
Ragotzki*.
96, line 4. For *inticed*, read *enticed*.
111, line 26. For *a*, read *an*.
204, line 24. For *departute*, read *departure*.
264, in the margin. For 1672. } read 1674. }
1083. } 1085.
313, in the margin. For *fight*, read *fight*.
377, line 26. For *grand vizier*, read *grand seignior*.

Table of Errata, line 3 from the bottom. For page 334, read page 344.

[For the rest of the errata, see the end of the third volume.]





